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ARAUCANIAN CHILD LIFE AND ITS CULTURAL BACKGROUND

(With 80 Plates)

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FOREWORD

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In this day when the vogue in ethnology is to stress theory and far-reaching comparisons, it is refreshing to find a study that is essentially descriptive. With characteristic energy Sister Inez has gathered a wealth of detailed facts concerning all aspects of child life, biological and sociological, which should serve as a mine of source material for future workers.

Essentially she has followed the same methods as used in her two previous monographs on the child life of the Chippewa and the Arapaho, but in this instance she has stressed even more the cultural matrix which to such a large extent has determined the practices connected with the development and socialization of the child.

The approach technically has not been that of the psychologist, but a wealth of psychological material emerges.

The abundance of direct quotes from informants and the frequent recounting of personal experiences give to the narrative an intimacy that not only makes it entertaining reading but imparts a human quality which adds to its value as a sociological and psychological document.

Considering the importance of the Araucanians, there are not too many accounts available in the English language, and no other study concerning child life.

Although acculturated through more than four centuries of contact with European civilization, the Araucanians have retained their identity, their language, and a great deal of their aboriginal culture.

This study of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, using the development and training of the child as a method of approach, actually gives an excellent picture of Araucanian ethnology in general as it is today.

M. W. STIRLING
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PREFACE

121 The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up.

114 No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature.

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucania" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Mommari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

121 In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists.

128 This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded.

124 The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their

124 own environment. (For details of the method see Hilger, 1954, pp. 25-42.) The same plan was followed in studying both the Argentine and Chilean Araucanians to facilitate a contemplated comparative study of the two groups.

Instances of incomplete data are due to the difficulty of getting the information. It took time and a cautious approach to establish rapport, especially in Chile, as the Araucanians are a proud, sensitive, and intelligent people. Questioning an informant after he had given an account was a reflection on his ability to give it accurately the first time; it irritated and annoyed. Also, I was warned by interpreters against interruptions during interviews, as these were clearly considered bad manners.

Checking, too, was difficult at times. "Do you not believe so-and-so? I have been told that he described that to you last week." Fortunately, interpreters (non-Araucanians) could often confirm information; they knew the Araucanians and their ways, having been closely associated with them for years—in Chile as herbalists, missionaries, or teachers, and in Argentina as benefactors and/or collectors of folklore. Information given by children was immediately and spontaneously checked by all other children present.

When a trait was not found in more than one area, the particular area in which it was found is recorded, in order to facilitate future checking. Variations within a trait are recorded as such.

The reader may find details too numerous or too minute, but they are intentionally so because there is a dearth of printed material dealing with the ethnography of the Araucanians, and also because the opportunity for collecting such details is rapidly coming to an end, especially in Argentina, at the present forced rate of acculturation.

With few exceptions informants are not identified with information recorded. To quote a Chilean informant, "The Mapuche (Araucanians) around here know that I am telling you our customs, and that is all right; but I do not want them to know what it is that I have told you. That is not important anyway. What is important is that it is the truth, and I am telling you the truth." A list of informants is given on pp. xix-xx.

The interpreters gave assistance in selecting informants, places, and occasions for observations, and in checking. It was upon their word and assurance that the Araucanians accepted me.

101 All Araucanian words were checked for spelling against the Diccionario of Félix José de Augusta (1916) if they could be found there. Should the reader wish to use the Diccionario, it is suggested that he first consult the "Phonetic Key to the Araucanian Language" (Ap-

pendix A) for pronunciation. Since the Araucanian language adds no "s" to form the plural, none is added here unless the word has been adopted into the Spanish language. 104

The word "primitive" is not used in this study, as the Araucanians do not consider themselves primitives. Nor is the word "Indians" used; to the Araucanians it is a humiliating term, used by Spaniards, Chileans, and Argentines in the days of conquest in Argentina and of attempted conquest in Chile. In Chile, the Araucanians speak of themselves as Mapuche; in Argentina, as manzaneros or paisanos. I speak of them in the terms of the literature, namely as Araucanians. 101

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations are from photographs taken by me in the field. 000

The official exchange of currency in Chile in 1946-1947 was 30 pesos for an American dollar.

The data for Part I were collected by the writer and Margaret Mondloch, her field assistant, while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile from November 1946 to April 1947.

Araucanians were interviewed in areas designated as more conservative than others by Monsignor Guido Beck (Vicar Apostolic of the Araucanía) after he had conferred with fellow Capuchin missionaries of all areas occupied by these people. Monsignor Beck had spent 40 years among the Araucanians; the other missionaries, 10 to 50 years. The areas selected were Alepúe on the Coastal Range and Coñaripe in the Andes, both in the Province of Valdivia; and Licán in the lowlands of the river Toltén in the Province of Cautín (cf. fig. 1). Alepúe was reached on horseback; Coñaripe, by boat across Lake Calafquén. Since time did not permit a visit to Licán, informants from Licán were interviewed with those in the Boroa area en route to Licán. The area about Panguipulli (a Chilean lake port on Lake Panguipulli, en route to Argentina) was included because Father Sigifredo Frauenhäusl (Capuchin missionary among the Araucanians for 50 years) had interested Domingo Huenun in our study. Huenun was an Araucanian who could not well be bypassed without discourtesy—fortunately so, as we soon learned, as he was one of our best informants in the Chilean study and later a reliable source when checking information collected among the Argentine Araucanians (1951-1952); he was intelligent, accurate, truthful, most informative, and proud of the culture of his people. He and Father Sigifredo had assisted Father Félix José de Augusta in the compilation of the latter's 2-volume Diccionario (1916), where his name is given as Domingo Huenuñanco (vol. 1, p. xiv). Research, therefore, was not new to him.

128 Because of the absence of native villages, or of any other physical cohesion in the Araucanian country, the term "area" is used to designate groups studied: Alepúe area, Coñaripe area, Panguipulli area, Boroa area. An "area" includes several settlements—a settlement consisting of a group of families formerly under the jurisdiction of a cacique. In Alepúe area, for example, such settlements are known as Chan Chan, Mehuin, Maiquillahue, Pelluco, and Tringle. The areas studied are within the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, between latitudes 40° S. and a little to the north of 39° S.

114 The data for Part II were also collected by the writer with the help of Margaret Mondloch as field assistant. We interviewed Araucanians while in residence in their country from November 1951 to February 1952. Our information was obtained primarily in Territory Neuquén where the larger number of Araucanians live. Informants lived in areas known as Quilaquina, Pilpil, Trumpul, Malleo, Collón Curá (San Ignacio), and Lago Lolog. It is probably correct to say that practically all Argentine Araucanians today live between latitude 41° and 36° S. and longitude 73° and 78° W.—a few families live just north of this area, in the Province of Mendoza, and an occasional family to the east and to the south. Territory Neuquén is bounded on the north by the Colorado and Barrancas Rivers; on the west by Chile; on the south by Lake Nahuel Huapi and the Limáy River; on the east by a line drawn due north from the village of Neuquén to the Colorado River. (Cf. fig. 7.)

129 A phonetic key to the Araucanian language is found in Appendix A. Plants used by Araucanian informants of both Argentina and Chile are found in Appendix B; mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes, in Appendix C. Throughout the text, for the sake of economy, the scientific names have been omitted, but the reader can identify the various plants and animals by referring to the appendices.

110 The bibliography lists sources for both Chilean and Argentine Araucanians. It contains Cooper's sources (1946, vol. 2, p. 699), Brand's bibliography (1941, vol. 5, pp. 20-22, 26-29), and all titles collected by the writer in the libraries of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín; the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Lima; the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago, Chile; the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile; the Universidad de Concepción, Chile; and the Library of Congress of the United States.

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I wish to thank Araucanian informants in Argentina—men, women, and children—who contributed so graciously and generously to the present study. Their names are found in the "List of Informants." To Kolupan (80 or more years old) I express special appreciation and gratitude for his reliability and integrity, and for his insistence on accuracy.

I owe special thanks, too, for all phases of the study in Argentina, but especially for those of interpretation, to Bertha Ilg-Koessler and Lisa Pfister, and to Sister Gerena who came from Alepúe in the Araucanian country of Chile to interpret for us. Without their assistance it would have been exceedingly difficult to make the study in Argentina, owing to the political situation there.

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Molinari (San Martín de los Andes and Buenos Aires); Federico ctd Graef, geologist and surveyor (San Martín de los Andes); Emelio Frey (Bariloche); Jaime F. Wood (Estancia Huechahue); Victor Muller and Enrique Korn (Buenos Aires); Horácio Fernandez Beschtedt (Rio Negro); and to Dr. Alberto Anciano and Ig. Alexandro Cané (Museo de Bariloche).

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122 for Anthropological Research; and to I. A. O'Shaughnessy, of St. Paul, Minn., whose generous financial grant to the Smithsonian Institution helped to make possible the publication of this work.

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Benedictine Sister

St. Benedict's Convent,
St. Joseph, Minn.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

CHILE

Alepúe area

María Calfín and her husband
Francisco Caniulaf and his mother
Olegario Caniulaf and his mother
Pancho Caniulaf
Rosaria Huaiquín de Caniulaf
Andrés Eladio Huaiquín
Francisca Paiquillanca de Huaiquín
Lorenza Huaiquín de Lienlaf
Alberto Lienlaf
Antonia Lienlaf Martín de Lienlaf
Arsenio Lienlaf and an old uncle
Arturo Lienlaf
Augustina Lienlaf and her mother
Benjamín Lienlaf and his parents
Delmiro Lienlaf
Dolores Lienlaf and her mother
Elsa Lienlaf
Elvira Quilapan and her father
Esmerinda Lienlaf
Hortensia Lienlaf and her mother
Isolina Lienlaf
Juan Lienlaf (50 years old)
Juan Lienlaf (10 years old)
Justino Quilapan Lienlaf
Manuelita Lienlaf and her grandmother
María Lienlaf Nahuelpan de Lienlaf
Marcelina Pichún de Lienlaf
Pablo Lienlaf and his grandmother
Ricardo Lienlaf
Rosario Lienlaf
Saladino Lienlaf
Teresa Lienlaf
Victoriano Lienlaf
Zacarías Lienlaf
Ignacio Adolfo Lienlaf Matías
Pedro Martín
Clara Pichún
Pedro Pichún
Louisa Lienlaf de Quilapan
Oswaldo Quilapan and his father
Avelino Raipán
José Raipán and his parents

Panguipulli area

Delphina Anchiu
Domingo Huenum
Teresa Huetra de Huenum

Coñaripe area

Ermelina Huenullanka Antumilia
Elisa Antumilia
Josephine Llankafilo Antukeo de Antumilia
Carlos Huenullanka
Carmela Antumilia de Huenullanka
Francisco Huenullanka
Emilia Millanau de Huenullan
Manuel Huenullan
Margarita Ankapán de Huenullan
Rosendo Antumilia Punalef

Boroa area

Andrea Sae de Calfil
Juan Huechi
Carmen Antul Llankinau
Juana Llankinau
Antonio Pehúen
Francisca Ancan de Pehúen
Lindor Sae

ARGENTINA

Trompul

Florentino Rosa (Chilean Araucanian, 32 years in Argentina)
Antonio Cayún
Matilde Cayún
Clodia Curuhuinca
Lorenza Curuhuinca de Epulef
María Curuhuinca de Quinchawal
José Morales
Juan Quinchawal

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115 *Quiloquina*
José Santo Arango
Edwina Cheoquepan and her two sisters
Victoria Choquipan
Cikela Curuhuinca
Francisco Curuhuinca
Teorinda Curuhuinca
Mercedes Komolai de Cheokipan
Matéa Lefín

Pilpil
Sofía Arango
Rosa Arango
Pedro Curuhuinca
Kolupan
Juana Naipan
Petrona Naipan
Manuela Vera

Lago Lolog
Cesario Navarete

Collón Curá (San Ignacio)
Francisco Namunkurá

Malleo
Cinovia Herrera de Rañanco
Emederio Ñamkeful
Francisco Ñamkeful (Chilean Araucanian, 25 years in Argentina)
Manuel Pañefilo

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PART I

THE ARAUCANIANS OF CHILE

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PART I. THE ARAUCANIANS OF CHILE[1]

INTRODUCTION

175 The recorded history of the Araucanians of Chile begins with the Inca invasion of their territory, probably about 1448-1482. Their first recorded contact with Spaniards was with a Spanish army that penetrated their country in 1536. From then on, until the last half of the past century, Araucanians and, at first Spanish, then Chileans, fought each other. Old Araucanians today remember the last days of the struggle. An Alepúe man gave the following account:

> In 1860 when Joaquín Pérez was President of Chile, the Araucanians were still fighting the Chileans. This type of fighting was called malón—malón is a Spanish word [a surprise attack, as by American Indians]. The Mapuche did great damage to Chileans: they stole animals from them, even oxen; they captured girls and women, especially girls whom they admired, and then forced them to marry them; they stole land; they destroyed small villages—they set fire to the village of Imperial twice and completely destroyed Cañete and other similar small villages. To put an end to these malones President Pérez ordered Colonel Buchel into our country. When Andrés Lienlaf, the chief cacique in our area, heard this, he set out for Valdivia [Chilean military headquarters] to speak with the Colonel. He took José Martín with him as an interpreter. These two went along the coast [Pacific] on foot, as far as Los Molinos. Here they made two rafts from saplings and on them got as far as the island of Teja. From there they again went on foot until they reached the river Valdivia, across from Valdivia. They again made themselves rafts here and crossed the river to the town of Valdivia. The river is very wide here. As they were leaving the rafts, they were taken prisoner and brought before the Colonel. The Colonel treated them as traitors. José Martín defended Andrés and said that they had come to negotiate for peace and not for war. The Colonel had received orders to exterminate all Araucanians from Valdivia northward to the province of Arauco. To convince the Colonel of his good will, Andrés got on his knees and took an oath that he would tell all Mapuche under him that they must put an end to these malones. The Colonel then gave him three months of grace. Andrés was to return to the Mapuche and tell them to end their attacks. Andrés returned. He talked to the caciques. Some would not agree with him; they said that he had turned traitor to his people and land. In Imperial the Mapuche beat him to the extent that even his head had three gashes; they, too, called him a traitor. He stayed there until he could go to his relatives in Queule, and later back to Alepúe. After some days he was well enough to return to Valdivia. Here

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[1] Unless otherwise stated, the history of the Araucanians as herein given is based on Cooper (1946, pp. 687-702).

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175 they now believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Choo Choo. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the now sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés Lienlaf was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Choo Choo with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

[3] 176 The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 38° and 40° S.

133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mehuín, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Tromen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Caburgua, Calafquén, Pellaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetrupillán (7,740 feet), Choshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

132 The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

[illegible] Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean cen-

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[illegible]

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161 thorities give numbers varying from 97,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Ilaque on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 67,877 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

101
144 Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu mollfün che, double-blooded people), and of nominal Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the ones of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepúe area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about 200 years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepúe area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

142 Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as pure Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[3] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

106 According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Puelche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants noted that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

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[3] Schaedel (1949, pp. 89-96) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, in the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepue, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepue] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow." 131

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepue area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche." 186

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence. 22

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Picunche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true." 197

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some 842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all these women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coihueco area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called [illegible].

Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coihueco area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 8 years old.

Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

The number of children in families in areas under my observation

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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 8 children (5 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 50-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead; the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PRENATAL PERIOD

LENGTH OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born; the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, but less than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing to a [illegible]] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing these Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka."

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being as soon after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people."

ABORTION

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced so very much today," said the interpreter, a well-informed [illegible], "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered stone and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the scaling of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 735) notes that Guevara lists

847 different plant abortifacients. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had worked the abdomens of the girls, even to hitting them with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much embarrassed and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright. [illegible]

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

842 Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man hates his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ngillatun [tribal religious ceremonial] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was gaining, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten whites of eggs with the sap of green seeds of linaza plant and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God sends."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. 787
If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. 842
If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor 845
seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman must not eat jaiba (ranüm), a small sea animal that attaches itself 843
to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of child-bearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

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[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952.

262 843 184 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey, or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 241 797 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat field; Río Mehuín and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

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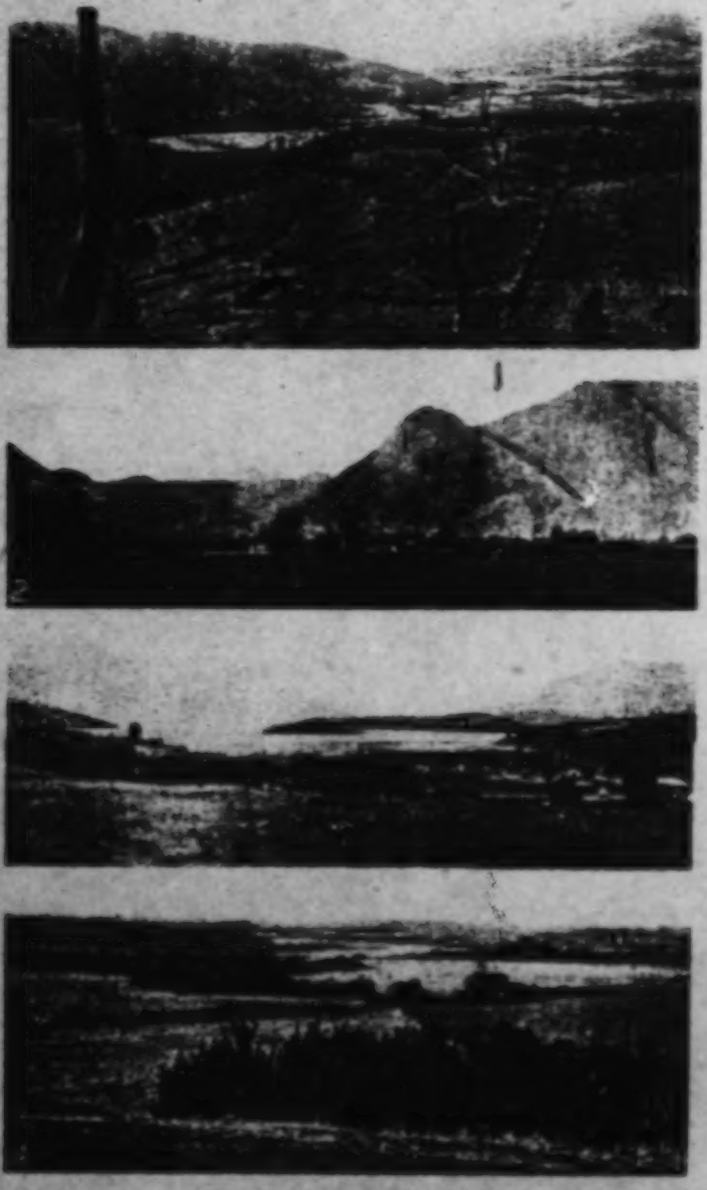

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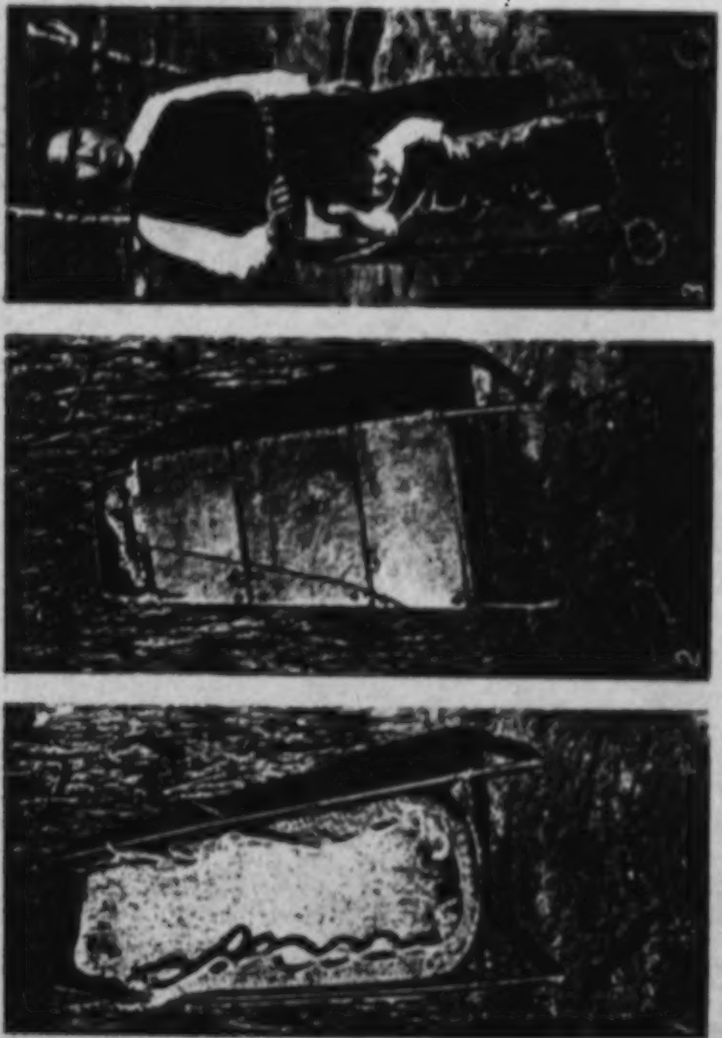

Araucanian cradle (Alepúe): 1, Front view. (Notice thatched wall of ruka.) 2, Back view. 3, Baby strapped to cradle.

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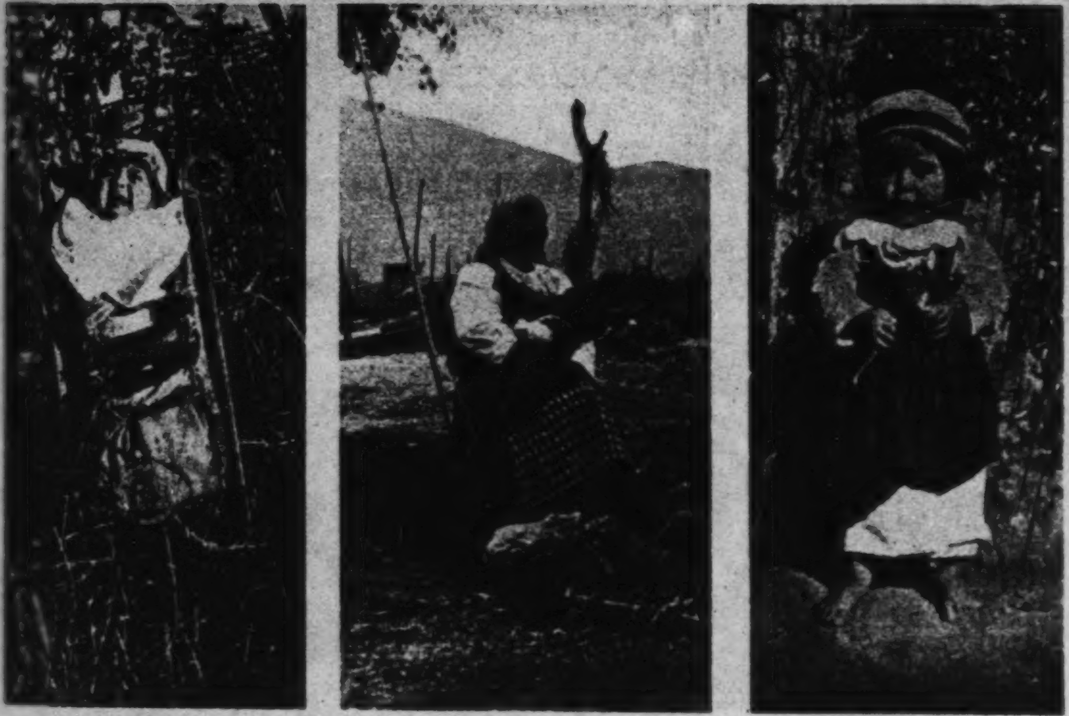

Infant and small children: 1, Baby strapped to cradle (Boroa). 2, Mother nursing her 2-year-old boy. (Notice smoldering fireplace in foreground.) (Coñaripe.) 3, Boy in diaper (Alepúe.)

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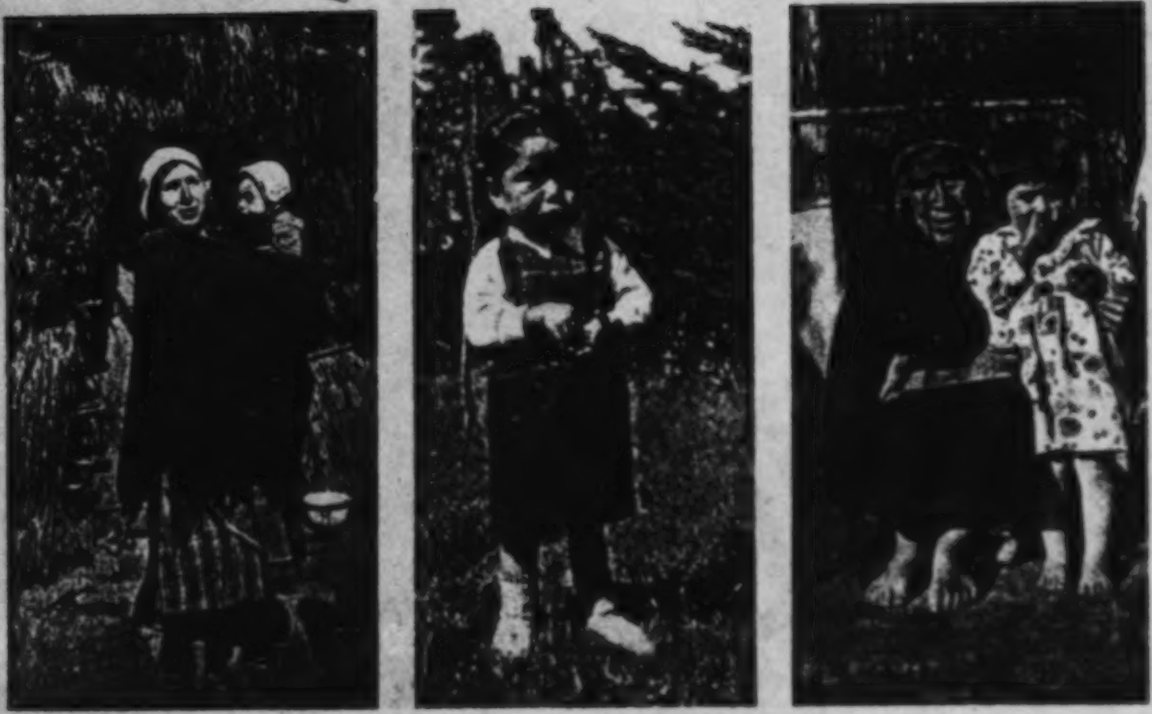

Small children (Alepúe): 1, Mother transporting child. (Note thatched wall of ruka in background.) 2, Shoes lacking, this boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 3, A child and its grandmother.

[p 12(D)]

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Small children: 1, Boys playing riding horseback (Coñaripe). 2, "Do you always wear shoes?" asked the little girl of the writer (Boroa). 3, Little girl transporting her brother (Coñaripe).

[p. 12(E)]

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Small children (Alepue): 1, "We just got dressed up to have our picture taken." (Coñaripe.) 2, Older girl: "Ah, you photographed me!" Mother: "This little girl does not want to wear her shoes." (Alepue.) 3, Two little girls from an unhappy home (Alepue).

[p.12(F)]

and her mother. Usually a midwife is present also, and on occasion some of the woman's relatives and women friends. Any woman who is a nearby neighbor can always be relied on to assist, if needed. A machi is not present but is called in if the mother or child takes sick. 944

Until very recently, midwifery was practiced exclusively by women; at the time of the present study several middle-aged men in Alepúe area were doing so, one being assisted by his wife. "Both he and his wife were present last week when my sister's child was born. That man certainly knows how to deliver a baby!" A midwife is called [illegible] or [illegible]; there is no word for a male [illegible], an indication that midwifery for men is not an old custom. [146]

To quote one of the men who assists at deliveries: "My part in helping is to examine the woman to make certain that the baby is in the right position, especially that the head is lying in the right position, for that is important. If it is, then all goes well and fast. When the first four of my children were born, I had a man deliver each—we call him a partero; we have no Mapuche name for such a man. I lost those four children; each died when about two months old. I watched that man deliver those children. Because these four died as infants, I delivered my wife myself of the next children. There were four more and they all lived." A Panguipulli woman was annoyed when asked if men assisted at deliveries: "What are you thinking about! It is always a woman who does so, a sensible woman, one who knows how!" Her husband interjected: "If a family is so poor that it cannot pay the midwife what she asks for a delivery, then the woman's husband will deliver his wife. Only then will any man help."

In some areas the midwife is paid for her services. In Alepúe she asks for 50 pesos (one U. S. dollar); if the woman is a relative, she accepts no pay. In Coñaripe area the midwife receives no pay; her compensation is the privilege of calling each child that she delivers "my child." "And later on when the child is old enough to comprehend, its mother will say to it, if the midwife happens to come around, 'This is your mother.' This pleases the midwife; it is done in grateful recognition."

It is a custom for all members of a family to stay around home when anyone in the family is sick; it is for this reason that a woman's children are present when she gives birth to a child—their mother is thought of as being sick. Teachers related instances when a relative or a neighbor of a family requested that children be allowed to leave school and go home because there was sickness in their family. The day following, the children would tell of the birth of a brother or a

A [illegible] sister. Informants thought it would be cruel to send the children away from their mother while she is giving birth. Said a Coñaripe mother: "Strangers are not allowed at the birth. But most certainly all the children should be there, now when their mama is sick. She is never away from her family, and why should not all her children be there when she gives birth to one of their brothers or sisters? In any event, the baby is being born in their home. Where should they go?" Quoting a Panguipulli father, "Certainly, the children are all present at a birth. Where else should they go? They belong in the same ruka with their mother." All boys and girls in a school in *Alepúe* said they had been present at a birth, except ones who were too young when a birth occurred to remember it.

The expectant mother drinks a cooled herbal decoction of leaves, stems, and roots of culantrillo when she begins to have labor pains. This maintains good blood circulation. The ingredients are boiled for only a short time. Cooper notes that Guevara gives a variety of medicinal plants used to facilitate birth (1946, p. 750).

According to an *Alepúe* woman the pains of labor can be lessened if the midwife pricks everyone present, including the children, with a needle. Hence, as soon as labor begins, she noted, people gathering in the house are pricked and they sing appropriate songs. After the baby is born, there is beating of drums and the people dance. Other informants said this was not the usual thing.

B [illegible] No informant had heard that letting a live lizard slide down the body of the expectant mother facilitated birth, something believed by the Blackfeet (from writer's unpublished field notes). No one knew of any animal associated with birth.

C [illegible] Informants knew of no medicinal remedy to alleviate labor pains. Cooper mentions *Datura stramonium* as being used to lessen them or deaden pain (1946, p. 750). "Sometimes the child comes easily; sometimes not for a long time, in which case the woman suffers much. We have no remedy for these pains. The mother must bear them. Labor pains usually begin at night, and by sunrise the baby is born. A child that is born at dawn or before the middle of the forenoon will be healthy and will grow to maturity. If it is born in the afternoon or evening, it usually dies—but births seldom occur at these times of the day."

Formerly women knelt while giving birth. This is in agreement with Cooper's sources also (1946, p. 750). Today most women kneel though an occasional one lies on her back. She kneels on something that can be discarded, such as a piece of threadbare homespun cloth or a worn-down sheep pelt. Generally she braces herself by gripping two upright poles that are driven into the ground about a foot apart. In Panguipulli area the woman not infrequently clutches a rope suspended from the rafters of the ruka. One of the women assisting her, usually the midwife, or any of those present—or the woman's husband, if no one else is present—stands behind the woman, embraces her about the abdomen, and presses it with both hands. Sometimes a man's belt is tied about her waist and lowered with the progress of the delivery. After the child is born, its parents thank God that it has arrived and ask Him to help the child to continue to live and grow to maturity. 844

After delivery, "while the mother's body is still half sick," she is given a decoction made by boiling [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], an aquatic plant. The mother has collected these from fields and open spaces and brooks before the birth of her child and has them ready for use. The midwife brings some with her. If the mother bleeds during delivery or afterward, she is given a decoction of [illegible], a plant found in brooks. 844 278

Some midwives, "wise ones," know how to assist at difficult deliveries. According to Cooper's sources, they practiced [illegible] when need was indicated (1946, p. 737). Quoting a Coligüe informant: "If a child is not born within four days after birth pains begin and there is no wise midwife available, the mother usually dies. If the midwife is one who knows, she will boil linseed and lubricate her hand with the oil that comes to the surface. Before lubricating the hand, however, she cleans it well and cuts all fingernails of it close, except one, either the thumb or the first finger. Then she inserts her lubricated hand into the cavity, tears the sac with the one fingernail retained, and usually the baby is soon born." If all known means have been resorted to unsuccessfully, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth, and a machi is hired to perform a machitun. (See pp. 119-121 for performance of machitun.) 845

During the present Study an Araucanian midwife delivered a Chilean woman of one of a pair of twins. The other, not yet delivered, was thought, by Chilean women neighbors, to be dead. The midwife mixed water, vegetable oil, urine of those present, and ashes which she obtained by burning some of the woman's hair. Everyone present encouraged the woman to observe the midwife prepare the mixture. The woman drank two-thirds of a glassful of it, gagged violently, and gave birth to the twin, alive. [278]

The baby's birth is not announced, nor is it celebrated by feast or ceremonial. Usually, however, a lamb or sheep is slaughtered and a

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845 substantial meal prepared for the family and those who assisted at the birth. Neither mother nor child is fumigated.

The Chilean law obliges the father to record the birth of his child at a government office in the province in which the child is born.

STILLBIRTHS

"My fifth child was born dead. It was harvest time, and I believe I worked too hard in the fields and caused the baby to put itself into a wrong position, and that is why it was born dead. My seventh child was stillborn too. But why it was so born, I do not know. Maybe it would have lived if I had had the help of someone. When it was about to be born, there was no one at home except my little boy—he was only a baby himself. I had no one to send for help. I was so sick that I thought I must die. I cooked some flaxseed and drank a liter of it. Then the child was born; but it was dead. I have often thought that when children grow up they need to be told how much their mothers suffered giving them birth."

NAVEL CORD

(846) In Coñaripe area the midwife or another woman present (the woman herself, if she is alone when the birth occurs) cuts the umbilical cord a handstretch from the navel. In Alepúe area the measure is three times the distance from tip of thumb to its first joint. The cord is cut with a knife—formerly one of flint.

The woman who cuts the cord drains the fluid from the section adhering to the navel (away from the navel) "until it [the cord] is as thin as a string," and then either coils it (clockwise) around the navel so that all of it will rest flat upon the baby's body, or piles it into a little heap alongside the navel. Then she covers it with a small wad of wool and puts on top of this a paste made of leaves. In Alepúe area the cord is generally greased to keep it from sticking to the body. Very recently several women had used commercial talcum powder in place of grease. All is kept in position by a band, similar to a man's belt, tied around the baby's body.

At intervals the mother peeks under the band to see if the cord has dried and fallen off. Ordinarily it does so within 10 days. Should it be oozing, she cleans it and treats it as before. If it does not drop off within another 10 days, a preparation is applied of ashes of wood mixed with scrapings off the smaller end of a corncob. The corncob is dried near the fire until almost scorched. If no corncob is at hand, the powdered scrapings off the edge of a piece of pottery are, more recently, the powdered scrapings off the broken edge of an iron bottle are used. The ashes must be those of either [illegible] or pelü. Those of pillü must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing." 844

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an *Alepúe* mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the ruka. The most recent ones I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the ruka] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the ruka]. The cord must never be thrown out of the ruka. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the ruka when it is dark." A listening-in woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another listening-in woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our ruka. I kept them inside the ruka, however." 846 787 [79]

A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman had not heard of the belief of the *Alepúe* women. She had kept the cords of her children in the ruka because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to Panguipulli informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under [illegible]. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child pale at times," a belief held by the Chippewa. When told of the *Arapaho* custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and carrying it to an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

AFTERBIRTH, PLACENTA, CAUL

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homewoven woolen cloth, and ties it to its cradle. In the meantime another woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers 846 [illegible] down her throat—this will cause her to eject the placenta. If gagging is not effective, she is made to vomit by giving her a large drink of lukewarm water mixed with salt and urine.

The secundines, including the placenta, are "companions" of the child. Immediately after delivery they are folded into the material on which the mother knelt during delivery and buried in the ruka either before the spot where the child was born or near the fireplace. This [illegible] is true for all areas except Panguipulli. Usually the child's father buries them; sometimes an older sister of the child does so because the father may be busy. Several informants knew that very recently, on a few occasions, the secundines had been buried outside the ruka, "but that was taking great risks. Some harm was to be expected to come to the mother; indeed, she may take very sick because of it. Or dogs may dig them up. Dogs are not allowed to eat the secundines—they are a part of man." In Panguipulli area a boy's secundines were buried in a hole near the fireplace, but a girl's were buried out-of-doors under a chupón. It is known that dogs will not dig under a chupón because of its sharp needles.

No informant knew of an Araucanian child that had been born with a caul. "I am sure if one were so born, the midwife would tear off the skin and throw it in with the secundines. Nobody would pay any attention to it."

IMMEDIATE CARE OF NEWBORN BABY

On the day of birth, or the following day, the baby's eyes are treated with the sap of a plant. Quoting a Panguipulli man: "You will not find a blind Mapuche. This is because the midwife or whoever helps [illegible] a woman deliver her child squeezes the sap of a plant we call [illegible] [unidentified][a] into the child's eyes. It removes the mucus from the eyes. Usually she does so immediately after the child is born, but it can be done with good effect the day following. It takes away that skin that is over the child's eye. I do not believe the Chileans use it; at least I have never heard them tell. And there are blind Chileans. The plant grows in damp ground."

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[a] When translated, [illegible] means to keep from being a blind person. The writer was unable to identify the plant under that name. An Araucanian teacher in [illegible] identified a specimen the Panguipulli informant brought as [illegible]. [illegible] gives the botanical classification of [illegible] as [illegible]. The Chileans call [illegible] the Spanish equivalent as [illegible]. In La salud por medio de las plantas medicinales [illegible] is classified as [illegible].

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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, MOLDING THE FACE

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft moss found between stocks of old quila was put around the baby's head in caplike fashion. "That moss was soft and dense. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find any of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap."

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be weakminded, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all.

According to an educated *Araucanian*, the true *Araucanian* face is round; one not round is always a question, he insisted—a statement to which not all *Araucanians* would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an *Araucanian* mother. In Panguipulli and *Coñaripe* areas a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or nurses or fondles it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of ears; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it tenderly, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. "When the baby sleeps, the mother will push its cheeks upward with her fingertips and tie little boards over the cheeks to keep them in this position." When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the progenitors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to its head to round it. She will make its back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for its head. However, if the head bulges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have nicely formed heads. The heads of Chileans often bulge in the back."

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the bandurria. The bandurria's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a *Coñaripe* mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward

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[illegible] like this [running her thumb and first finger down the ridge of the nose and then stretching the nostrils wide open with the fingers]. She says to the child, 'You must have a nice nose like the bandurria.'"

Babies are often born with a dense growth of lanugo on forehead and sides of face, from temples to ear lobes. By the time the child [illegible] enters school, it has disappeared, but a low hairline, a characteristic of Araucanians in all areas—one not desired by them—remains. (Cf. p. [illegible].)

THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

For a few hours following delivery—probably two—the mother lies quietly on her back, "she must not stir in the least." Then she walks to the family's bathing place, either a river or lake or the Pacific, and there wades directly into deep water. "This brings about good blood circulation." "All the Mapuche women in Coñaripe still do that," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "Chileans around here say these women are crazy, but the Mapuche women say that they feel better if they take this cold bath."

In many instances still the midwife, or one of the other women who was present at the delivery, dips the infant into the water where the mother is taking her bath. "This bath hardens the child to the hardships of life," said a mother. "It trains the child early to physical endurance. Formerly the Mapuche could resist sickness; they were a strong people because of it. When they are no longer given this bath after birth, the Mapuche are a weak people." No informant knew of an instance where the mother while bathing herself bathed her child, also, in a stream or in the sea after birth. "Maybe it was done a long, long time ago." Cooper's sources say it was (1946, p. 731).

Today a substitute for the baby's first bath in a body of cold water is dipping the infant into a dish of cold water or, as the Chileans do, laying it on one's lap and dashing cold water on its back and front. The midwife or one of the women who has attended the birth will do so. Generally fresh cold water is used; rarely, a decoction. The belief prevails that the cold bath is conducive to the child's good health and well-being. The dish used is one carved from a tree trunk.

The mother bathes the child frequently during infancy and childhood; many do so daily. It is dipped into a body of water, if one is near the house, or it is stood up in a dish in the ruka and cold water is splashed against it. An occasional mother today uses lukewarm water or a decoction, something she learned from non-Araucanians.

A Coñaripe mother had seen a non-Araucanian mother bathe a child

in an herbal decoction. Not knowing its ingredients she gave her 846
babies an herbal bath daily in a decoction of leaves of limpia plata, bark of apple tree, and either the bark of canelo or the leaves of boldo. She believed these to be soothing and a preventive of rashes. She boiled a pinch of each in water for some time, then strained the decoction into a dish through a piece of cloth. The baby was seated in it, and handfuls of it were dashed against the body. "I made a fresh decoction each day. We Mapuche believe that a decoction must be used the day it is prepared."

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING, BODY DECORATIONS

Araucanians pierce the ears, but not the nose or the lip. One piercing is made in each ear lobe. 304
According to old informants, every child, formerly, had its ears pierced immediately after birth; in general, today, only girls have theirs pierced. Piercing is done before the child is 3 months old, "that is, before it feels pain; we learned that from the Chileans." "My two daughters there [6 and 8 years old] have not had their ears pierced. I shall not have them pierced any more; it would be too painful."

Any person may do the piercing, but since a member of the family may be too tenderhearted, an outsider is usually asked to do so. Persons mentioned were old persons, "a man in Mehuin who always does it for children there," "a man we know well who passed by our ruka and I called him in," "I myself," and neighbors.

Formerly ear lobes were rubbed well with ashes and then pierced with the sharp point of a bone. It was believed the ashes would anesthetize the ear lobe. Old persons still rub the lobes with ashes, but piercing today is done with a threaded needle, a piece of the thread being left in the hole to keep it from growing shut. The ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Anyone fondling the baby will pull the thread back and forth. "I saw an old man do that recently to a little girl on his lap." An ear could be pierced from either the upper or the lower side of the lobe. Non-Araucanians had seen a bar of soap held under the lobe, and the lobe pierced with a threaded needle with a quick movement from top downward. The needle had been held in the fire to sterilize it.

When the piercing is well healed, the thread is pulled out and a small [301]
earring inserted. Earrings are increased in size as the child grows older. "We give our girls earrings today to retain our customs.

304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.
[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. 863 A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night.

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupülwe. When speaking Spanish, 854 they call it caballo (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is [426] never lent or borrowed. In Alepúe area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Panguipulli area the mother makes it if the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it.

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. *2*; 3, *1*.) Both were of wood. One has a band over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The band (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tiaca. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of colihüe because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

854 The bandless cradle was not used in Alepúe area; in Boroa area it was used almost exclusively. Two Alepúe women examined with interest a bandless one pictured by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78) and discussed and evaluated it. "This netting [pointing to the backrest] is not what we make; we use a piece of wood for a backrest—two or three, if they are small ones. This is how a Mapuche cradle should look: [One woman drew two parallel lines and connected the upper ends with a line bent above each of the parallel lines.] We are wondering who made this cradle [illustrated in Cooper]; do you know?" Panguipulli informants said the bandless type was easily made. "You take two boards so wide [approximately 2 inches] for side pieces, or if you cannot find boards, chop two small straight limbs off a tree and peel them of bark. Use these for side pieces. Then find some small boards for the backrest, burn holes into the ends of them and also into the poles, and tie them all together with thongs."

Several cradles in use during the present study had parts fastened
[284] together with nails; all others, and also most museum specimens, were
tied together with leather thongs or cords. Holes for tying had been
burnt into the wood with hot irons.

There are no standard measurements for a cradle other than that it should be big enough for a baby. An informant said that the length of the backrest should be the distance indicated between his hands (28 inches) and the width approximately half that distance. The entire length, he thought, should approximate 34 inches "for the cradle must have two feet on which to rest. These must be some distance below the baby's feet. When the baby has outgrown the cradle, the cradle is no longer used. It is generally not used after the baby walks, but I tied my babies to theirs even then, for I knew then where they were—they could not get out my sight."

A cradle is not made ceremonially; no part of it is ornamented; no
toys are attached to it. It is padded with either a piece of sheep pelt
with wool side toward the baby or a piece of worn-down chamall; both
859 are soft. Lashings are passed through knitted loops attached to the
284 framework of the cradle or through perforations along the edges of
the pelt or chamall, in which case the pelt or chamall is securely fastened to the framework. Lashings are woven bands, and only one band
is used in lacing a baby to its cradle. In general, one end of the lashing
is fastened to the first loop at the head end of the cradle, and is then
passed through a loop at a time, alternating from side to side, until
the foot end is reached. Here it is fastened into the last loop, and any
854 unused lashing is tucked under the lacing somewhere. A baby is
swaddled before being tied to its cradleboard. If it is to sleep, its arms

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are laid to its sides before it is swaddled. In its waking hours, its arms and hands are free. 95

The cradleboard serves several purposes, one of which is to insure correct posture as the child grows. Quoting an Alepúe woman: "When a child is in its cradle its legs and arms are straight down. It is because of this that the Mapuche have those straight legs and erect backs; seldom is there one that has bowed or bent legs. Too many Mapuche today want to do away with cradleboards and follow those stupid Chilean customs." A Coñaripe father thought a child was too confined when tied to its cradle: "My three oldest children were each tied to a cradleboard. But when my three youngest children were babies, there were enough older ones to tend to them and carry them around. Anyway, I do not think a child develops well when it does not have its freedom of movement."

A baby in its cradle relieves the mother of its care while she is busy. "A mother who weaves has the baby in its cradle right close to her; the baby watches her weave then." "Whenever a baby cries, it is tied to its cradle and set against the wall. From here it can see other persons, and see what they are doing. Babies seem to like it, for they are quiet then." A baby that gets restless or seems tired will have its arms brought out from under its swaddling bands.

Furthermore, even a young child can be assigned to tending a baby, if the baby is on its cradleboard. The child will play with the baby, talk to it, or rock it, by moving the weight of the cradle alternately from one foot to the other. An 8-year-old boy tended a neighbor's baby in its cradleboard by rocking it and saying "chuu" as each foot of the cradle hit the ground. "I do not want the baby to begin crying," he said. A grandmother was seen doing so for mere enjoyment. Occasionally she stopped rocking, and talked to the baby.

A cradleboard provides a place for the baby's daytime naps. If the baby falls asleep in its cradle, the cradle is laid on the floor and the canopy erected over the baby's face. At night the baby sleeps out of its cradle with its mother. "That is the place for a baby at night; certainly not in the cradle!"

Also, the cradleboard provides a means of transporting the baby on its mother's back when she walks a short distance, "like to the neighbors." Most women carry a cradled baby by slipping each arm through a loop, the ends of which are fastened to the cradle; several women carried one suspended from the forehead by means of a band. If long distances have to be traveled, the mother rides horseback and places the cradle in horizontal position on the saddle in front of herself.

854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Coñaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 854 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies. A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "sh," another was a repetition of "ssi." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tas." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "guk" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

[illegible] [illegible] A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lullaby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew." 534 854

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté. 856 852

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite. 855

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

855 Coñaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the álamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is [561] not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche quellai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi alnawechi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

863 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 9-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, a grillo (kunin kunin), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small homemade 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

856 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

[p 28(A)]

Older children: 1, "You can photograph me, I don't mind!" 2, "So these two women are North Americans." 3, "[illegible]! I am standing still. It's the wind."

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[492]

[p 31(b)]

Children old enough to carry responsibilities: 1, "I am ready now to show you the way to Mehuin." (Alepúe.) 2. A boy ready to deliver and fetch the mail. The horse he rides belongs to him. (Coñaripe.) 3. "Here, papa! Take this bundle of wheat." (Coñaripe.)

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[illegible] schoolchildren: 1, Boys on their way home from school. (Tree burned-over land, now being used as pastureland.) 2, Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a [illegible].) 3, Lunch time at school. (Note wooden fence of logs.)

[1:29[illegible]]

16: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957

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[illegible]

857

852.

Young children and older sister [illegible]

[p. 368]

[illegible] Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS [illegible]

857
281
96

[f-62]

[illegible]

[f-203]

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[illegible]

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482
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[illegible]

[p.200]

FIRST CLOTHES

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. [illegible]). The chamall used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtlike diaper as were girls. After that he wore his chamall like a man's chiripa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an occasional child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were bareheaded and barefooted. [29]

NURSING, WEANING

Before the baby's first nursing, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pokes a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of paico or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of paico. The leaf is heated near the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throat. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath. [853]

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of [illegible] in water gotten from flowing water, usually a spring. She drinks of this mixture two or three times and also washes her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby hot. [illegible] [illegible]

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each nursing and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include any for sick babies. On rare occasions a machitun (a shamanistic ceremonial) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

853 I have known Mapuche herbalists to stay eight days with a crying baby or a sick child, and [illegible] for it."

A child is always nursed until it is a year old, unless the mother is again pregnant, but it is seldom nursed when older than two years. (Pl. 3, 1.) It is nursed tied to its cradleboard, resting in its mother's arm, sitting on its mother's lap, or standing near its mother. During an interview of an hour, a mother nursed her baby whenever it began to fuss, which was about every 10 minutes. The baby was then tied to its cradleboard to be photographed, but immediately after the picture was taken the mother sat on a low bench and again nursed the baby still strapped to the cradle, which stood in an upright position.

During an interview with another mother her 20-month-old boy became bothersome. She then nursed him lying in her lap until he fell asleep. When he awoke, she again nursed him; this time he rested on his knees in her lap. When he began to move about in her lap, she let him slide off and nursed him standing at her side.

When the mother cannot satisfy the child with her own milk, she gives it soup, and/or commercially condensed milk mixed with water, and/or boiled milk of a fresh cow. "We put this in a bottle with a nipple. One can buy them in Chilean stores. We learned this from the Chileans."

862 The child is weaned by gradually accustoming it to a series of solid foods, "the same foods that everyone else eats. It is best, however, to begin with cow's milk, so that it gets used to new tastes gradually." Following this, it is fed toasted wheat, mürke (made of cooked wheat), new potatoes, and later meat. After the child is completely weaned it may be given anything to eat except apples and plums. "We believe that a weaned child still has mother's milk in its body and that these fruits will sour the milk."

Weaning is accomplished by mother and baby living apart. Either the baby may be placed with a neighbor or relative, "like its grandmother or an aunt," and left there two or three days, or it may be left in the care of an older sister at home while the mother visits a few days away from home. If the child is not weaned when it is again with its mother, it is separated from the mother once more. The mother does not use a repellent, such as a peppery or a bitter substance on her breasts. According to Cooper's source, the child was weaned when all its teeth were out, or a year after its birth; or if the child was weak, not until it was 18 months, or older (1946, p. 725).

Only an occasional child sucks its finger. Two instances came to the writer's notice; one was two years of age; the other, nearly three. Both sucked the first finger of the right hand.

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in *Alepúe, Panguipulli*, and *Coñaripe* areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and its neighboring area of [illegible]. In *Alepúe* area three pairs were born between 1930 and 1938. 845

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with sand (1946, p. 729). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for *Alepúe* and *Panguipulli* areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (Chileans and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Coñaripe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second-born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [*Alepúe*] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two months ago." Twins were reared in their homes like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary powers. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half sister was spoken of—both man and woman had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." 835

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian widower whose daughter ran away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not uncommon for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from [illegible]

595 an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the home of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother loses the esteem of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her home," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to force a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's home." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced he said, and added, "I told them at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. What I feared has happened; my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her married man's house.

DEFORMED CHILDREN, SICK BABIES, INFANTICIDE

[illegible] Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, 845 for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. 732 To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that."

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought 847 mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733).

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies 757 of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." 855 If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health.

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case 732 of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe 845 woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known.

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847 [845] Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 848 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 158 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 736 593 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a normal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in a Chilean orphanage.

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every 597
family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a 593
member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alepúe boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted.

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, 597
to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers.

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in 357
the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash.

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old 567
people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early 727
days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay.

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 With rare exceptions, it was the father who named his child. The name was selected in several ways: Either the father selected it and talked his choice over with the mother of the child and then bestowed the name unceremonially by merely saying that this was the child's name; or a close relative, such as the grandmother or uncle, said that a child should be called by a certain name and then the father bestowed it, again unceremonially; or the name of someone outside the extended family, possibly, known as a l'aku (namesake), was selected, and his name was given the child at the l'akutun (naming feast). In rare instances the l'aku bestowed the name also. More often a boy's name is bestowed at a l'akutun than that of a girl. There are both masculine and feminine names.

A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had named his children unceremonially. He said that his grandmother came to his ruka on each day that one of his children was born and asked him to give the child the Araucanian name that she suggested and that he did so: "When my first child, a son, was born, she told me to call him Rayenllepin (flower magic stone—magic stone used by machi). I gave him this name on the day he was born. We had no ceremony or celebration of any kind. I merely said that Rayenllepin would be the boy's name. When the second son was born, she told me to call him Melillepin (four magic stones). So I called him that several days after his birth. She asked me to give my daughter the name of her mother, and I did so."

When a child is given its name at a l'akutun, the l'aku either announces that he will do so or the father of the child invites him to do so. The following are essential elements of a l'akutun: the father notifies the l'aku of his desire to use the l'aku's name and gets his permission to do so; the l'aku furnishes a slaughtered lamb or sheep for the feast; either the l'aku or the father provides an alcoholic beverage—formerly it was mudai, today it is chicha; families of relatives and friends are invited; the l'aku holds the child in his arms while the father declares that the child will have the l'aku's name; the l'aku then asks God to protect the child during its life; the day ends in much drinking. An informant described the l'akutun thus: "If a father wants to give his little son the name of an old man, he sends a messenger to the old man to tell him that he would like to take his name for his son. If the old man consents, a day is set for the naming. The father provides chicha (formerly it was mudai) and the

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old man slaughters a sheep. Others are invited. If the old man is rich, he may give the child a horse or a heifer as a gift, and from then on he will continue to give the boy gifts until he is two or three years old. The father names the boy by saying to those present that this old man gives his name to the boy. The old man then takes the boy in his arms and says, 'God care for you. During the remainder of my life, you will be my laku. I am your father.' Then the father of the child answers for the child, 'I will be your laku. I will be your child.' Then the wife of the old man, if she is there, says, 'I will be your mother. Come to me if ever you are in need.' Then the old man and the father shake hands. From then on that person and the child call each other laku. The feast ends with much drinking of chicha. A lakutun is made so that the name of a grandfather or great-grandfather or some other person will not be lost."

There was no set age at which a child was named. Generally, however, it was given a name when less than two years of age; often it was named shortly after birth.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 737-738), the naming feast followed the period of the mother's seclusion after delivery. At the feast a white lamb was sacrificed, at least in more recent years. Some of the blood was sprinkled in the four cardinal directions and the remainder poured into the hole in the ground where the umbilical cord had been deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. Informants of the present study had no knowledge of these customs, except that of the naming feast itself.

Sometimes a boy's name was changed; very rarely, a girl's. If a noted cacique came on a visit, "such as the cacique from the Pacific coast or Loncoche or Pitrufquén," a father might change the name of a young son to that of the cacique, especially if the cacique was also well known because of his oratorical abilities. If a father disliked a young son's name, he might give him a new name. "A boy near here was called Antiñamco until he was five or six years old. His father disliked this name and changed it to Kolüñamku." It also happened that a relative who had been away for a long time came for an unexpected visit. He would walk into a ruka and say, "I want this boy as my namesake. I want the boy to have my name." And from then on "the boy will have this relative's name and he loses his other name." If a boy wishes to have his name changed to that of a relative, the father confers with the relative about it. If all is agreeable, the change will be made at a naming feast held in the boy's home. On rare

553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matias family did so; its name was Calfin, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfin men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chileans."

551 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, cüga, cunga; also cüga; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kumpém, a naming system (Félix José, 1907, p. 38).

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756 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (bright red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipulican (?); Foiquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llaqkünagpai (what falls from above); Pinatrayen (hummingbird waterfall); Pinatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquihuirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirinagpai (came down from above in the form of lightning).

551 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepúe man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Panguipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Loncon after my father who had been named Loncon after his grandfather whose name was Loncofanco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded of a kuga name and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, 551 more commonly prefixed to the kuga name (Cooper, 1946, p. 723). Informants reasoned that if the kuga existed in the early days, it might possibly exist today in what was known to them as the kunpém, since kunpém meant a group of families related by blood ties, such as the Lienlaf in Alepúe and the Tripailaf in Puringue; but that not always was the given name one compounded with the name of the kunpém. "For example, in one family here [Alepúe] brothers were named Huaiquil, Marilaf, Manque, Pencru, Lefín, and Chewe, and their sister's name was Camitra. The relationship name—probably the kunpém you are asking about—was Lienlaf—that is, they belonged to the Lienlaf people in this area. I know it, because I belong to the same family. These families go way back to the time before we fought the Spanish. Today the names of these six brothers are surnames. The children of each use their father's Mapuche name as their surname. The brothers have all been baptized, and when they sign their names now, they write their baptismal name first and add to it their Mapuche given name, but not Lienlaf."

For 700 families in Panguipulli area, on the contrary, names contain the word pan, an abbreviation of pangui (lion). Among them are the Kuripán (black lion), the Liempán (light of sun lion), the Aillapán (nine lions), the Külapán (three lions). The names of another group of related families, also in Panguipulli area, end in llanka (blue stone with magic). "My grandfather's name ended in llanka. So did three of his cousins whose names were Wenullanka (power from above blue stone with magic), Melillanka (four blue stones with magic), and Rayenllanka (flower blue stone with magic). Félix José (1907, p. 30) lists as members of the kunpém of llanka, which he translates as finely colored bead, such names as Chiwaillanka (foggy finely colored bead), Pornullanka (spotted finely colored bead), Ankall (proud finely colored bead), Kafill (finely colored bead that warms), and Mañkell (finely colored bead of condor). Informants believed the last three to have ended at one time in llanka, also. (Cf. also kiñge, under "Marriage," p. 129.)

A non-Araucanian interpreter of Panguipulli was bewildered at the information regarding the kunpém. She had often attempted to trace names in baptismal records for adult Araucanians who needed an official statement of their ancestry in order to lay claim to land. Quoting her: "It is impossible to do so. There is no similarity between the names of parents, grandparents, or other relatives to indicate that they are related to the child, or even to each other." A 70-year-old Coñaripe man was certain that similarity in names had nothing to do

551 with the kuepüm. "Else, why was my father's father's name Nahuelan, my father's name Willañancu, and my name Pallalaflan?"

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine. Neither prefixes nor suffixes indicate gender. Women's names have no relationship to the kuepüm. Some names, both feminine and masculine, lend themselves to translation; others do not. Feminine names that have meanings are Llanquirai (witchcraft stone with flower), Lefcui (running), Pinda (hummingbird), Hualaipán (enclosed lion). Feminine names that do not lend themselves to translation are Padamei, Llefilai, Pinchuria. "Clearly, anyone seeing these names will know that they are feminine names; they have the sense of femininity in them." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733), the name of a female child could not be mentioned lest it die. Informants of the present study had not heard of this custom.

The following names are those of parents of the first 10 persons baptized at Misión de Panguipulli in 1903 and whose names are recorded in its Libro de Bautismos de Indígenas (Anonymous, 1930, vol. 1, pp. 1-3). The first name in each pair is the father's; the second, the mother's: Huichaman and Calfucan; Alberto and Nahuel; Calificura and Ayllapán; Huilipan and Manquil; Lefiniam and Huentrah; Lefiniam and Huentrah; Malapán and Nahuel; Truitrai and Ancalen; Truitrai and Pashpan; Ancalen and Nehiguir. The following pairs of given names (surnames omitted) are those of the parents of the last 10 children baptized in 1947: Huilla and Huenufanco; Sandoval and Aillapán; Llancafanco and Lenfuman; Antiao and Pichilef; Namuncura and Ancoli; Caquilef and Calter; Huaiquipán and Calupán; Trafilanco and Melinao; Calipán and Canucal; Amunao and Canucal. It is interesting to note that each parent has an Araucanian name recorded as a surname; in 1903 no parent had a surname. Nearly all the given names of parents are Araucanian; those of children are Christian.

SURNAMES

As noted previously, Araucanians had no surnames in the early days. Surnames were introduced by the Capuchin Fathers in order to make baptismal records permanent files to which Araucanians could refer in later years. The Fathers were certain that in due time the Araucanians would come under Chilean law regarding land and inheritance and that accurate information as to dates of births and to parentage would then be essential. This has proved to be true.

In more recent years, too, teachers have had to give surnames of

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schoolchildren in order to fill in reports demanded by the Chilean department of education. The following given names of men are today surnames of school children in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas. Meanings follow, if names lend themselves to translation—some cannot be translated "any more than you can translate John or Joseph." Calfühuala (blue gulls), Pallinao, Catrin, Cañicura (? stone), Calfupangui (blue lion), Huaiquil, Huichiñ, Huequifilu (band of snakes), Catrifilu (cutting snakes), Nancufilu (running snakes), Huenul, Catrileo, Huenupangui (heart of the lion), Marifilu (ten snakes), Maripán (ten lions), Menkipán, Marilhuan (ten guanacos), Calfilhuan (guanaco), Namcupán (eagle lion), Namcuñal, Pallinao, Pellañamcu (the back of the eagle).

At present schoolchildren and adults frequently follow the Spanish custom of including the mother's name in their surname, as do Chileans.

NICKNAMES

A nickname (üñüfachen) is attached to an individual because of an atypical physical trait, a unique similarity to something, or an unusual or amusing event associated with the individual. Nicknames today are both Araucanian and Spanish. Quoting informants: "A boy who lived near us had a harelip; so I nicknamed him Moltö (harelip), something he resented. That was when we were boys. Maybe I was punished, for now that I am married one of my children was born with a harelip and cleft palate." "My father gave me the nickname Kushe (old woman)," said a teen-age girl; "he said I acted like my grandmother."

Teachers told of nicknames of school boys and girls. "Many girls in the school and nearly all the boys have nicknames; some have several," said one teacher. "One boy is called Weküfü (devil); another Tordo (thrush); another Pidüñ (name of a small bird that lives near water). One of the girls is called Perdiz (partridge)." Children in another school enjoyed telling their own nicknames or embarrassing others by telling theirs. One boy was nicknamed Foñü (the core of a tree) because he was tall and husky; another, Chucao (name of a bird) because he was a good whistler; another Sambo (from a story in a reader). One boy was called Ojo because he began every sentence, hesitatingly, with "ojo" when he was learning to read; another boy was dubbed Mercurio (mercury) because he was quick of action; another Diablo (devil) because of his mischievousness. A girl was called Zapatillo (small shoe); another, Zorzal (a bird's name; also a crafty person). "Whenever we read about that bird, all the children

551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Miss Cone by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Miss Cone"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the owner. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 [595] In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

593 602 594 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All families, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 593 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

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pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The 593
average family has to have sheep and enough land to raise food so 586
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of
the wealthiest families owned 100 acres of land, some of which was
still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew
his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of
trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his 423
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to
cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in ac- 593
quiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and
therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously,
then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated
there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored 554
that it is sorely destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help 593
that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. [734]
One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The
Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who,
in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for
a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in
someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an
occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish
that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented
him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. [736]
The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the
area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings
by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small
boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes
indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed
for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent [609]
was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in
which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

593 head of the family and are fed. He tolerates no contradiction or 562 questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls [74] in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.'"

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and 593 562
intelligently so.

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or 593
worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were
discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quot- 578
ing two Alepue informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had welts from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once,
when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like [626]
Chileans; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for them."

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding 593
their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellakan!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen

593 holding a small child in his lap or having an older one stand between his knees while he chatted with it. Children reciprocate parental affection. Often they were seen running toward father or mother who were returning home from gardens, fields, or trips. An 8-year-old girl chose as her project in school to knit a cap for her father. Parents proudly pointed at objects in the ruka that a child had made for either parent. "Mapuche idolize their children," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, who had been in all rukas in Alepúe area. "I have noticed that they allow children to do as they please at home. Seldom are children corrected and less seldom slapped or punished." No child was known to have been treated cruelly, except, on rare occasions, by an intoxicated father. One schoolboy whose father had deserted his family wrote in answer to the question, "Who is your father's favorite boy?" "My papa does not like his children."

Members of a family have affectionate interest in each other. When a family was preparing to be photographed, they all helped one another to look well groomed. One father helped a 19-year-old daughter place a silver headband properly on her head; another daughter fetched the mother's silver decorations; one of the girls told the 14-year-old brother to straighten his collar; the father made certain that the hats on the boys were properly tilted so that no shadows would darken their faces.

593 758 If a member of the family is sick, all other members are downcast. All stay in the ruka, and all will sit up most of the night. "I was in a ruka recently," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "where the mother had sat up with a sick child continuously for three days and three nights. She was so exhausted that she nodded in sleep even while I was telling her what to do for the child. I have seen the same thing many times." Children are absent from school whenever there is sickness in the family.

593 Having a favorite child is not customary. Children of school age, however, know that the youngest child is often a father's favorite, and the eldest or the youngest son, the mother's, but never to the exclusion of other children. An 11-year-old boy wrote: "My mama loves my eldest brother most, but she loves me much and I love her much." Informants were not acquainted with the lapu, a special [604] relationship between a boy and his maternal uncle, noted by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 724). An endearing name used by a small child when addressing its father, its mother, and its aunts, today—formerly its father's other wives—and also men to whom it owes love or respect is chacha or chachai. A teen-age son and an older one address their father as chao within the family circle. In general conversation

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a man or woman may address as [illegible] a man from whom assistance is sought. 593

Affection between parents and children continues throughout life. It is shown by exchange of visits and gifts and by giving help whenever it is needed.

In general children are adequately provided with food and clothing. A man who neglects his wife and children is chided by his relatives and loses his status in the community. A father will make provision for a piece of land for each of his sons and daughters by laying claim to unassigned lands owned in common in the area. Fathers of families present their needs at meetings held by the men under the title of "The fathers of families." A Coñaripe father told of a discussion held by "The fathers of families" on the previous night regarding the partitioning of community-owned lands and stated that he expected to be given a piece. "I must see to it that each one of my children will have a piece of land when it grows up." Adopted children were cared for and loved as were all other children in the family. 591

According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, brothers and sisters spoke very little to one another when he was young; he believed this to have been a custom. Other informants—all at least 20 years younger than the old Coñaripe man—had not heard of the custom. Two Alepúe women, one 80 years of age, the other 46, were greatly surprised to hear of such a custom.

There are no brother-sister taboos among the Araucanians today. Nor is there a conventional pattern for reciprocal affection among siblings. Siblings of all ages observed during the present study acted as one would expect them to act: they helped each other and talked, played, went on errands, and walked long distances together. On occasions a brother showed affectionate care for his sister. In one instance a 20-year-old man brought his 25-year-old sister, who was suffering from a prolonged headache, to an herbalist. After stating that his sister was sick, he asked the sister to give details. During an interview in a ruka a 19-year-old girl rested her elbow on her 17-year-old brother's knee while they sat on the same bench listening in. A non-Araucanian herbalist heard an oldest son being commissioned by his dying mother to care for, advise, and direct his brothers and sisters—she did not want her husband to do so; she resented his having married a younger woman as a second wife. Most boys in an Alepúe school between the ages of 11 and 14 loved a younger brother most of all brothers; boys between 8 and 11 loved an older brother most, generally the oldest brother. Most girls in the school loved a younger brother more than any other brother. Boys between 11 and

593 to were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a man made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

[illegible] A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Other children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with suds made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are relied on for drying.

302 Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (runa) from cafe cafe or from [illegible] (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepúe area, runa were made from coral, the plant from which brooms, too, are made. "The brush, so long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short. "The Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

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still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut 302 shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down [301] the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with [515] lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this.

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were compli- 832 mented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes."

Most girls seen wore earrings made of flattened circular pieces of 301 silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned.

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his per- 516 sonal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and abashed against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty.

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not insti- 572 tutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "These two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends."

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

157 [illegible] games, were generally played together by children
572 of the same age groups. During recess periods the same three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are thus formed and extend through adult life.

157 Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Bueno!' and off they will go to play or to do the thing."

Joviality and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. Schoolchildren told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver neckpiece to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much joviality, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

151 A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave as points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepúe, the Isla Mocha, Punta Queule, Punta Corral, and Puerta Saavedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quoting the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the person whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there so much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen."

822 Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had 822 drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler."

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many 824 gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into 857 the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom.

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized 151 because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka.

COURTESY, SHARING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see 867 to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when 576 visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands.

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons, 857 576 or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

867 Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the ruka, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimñë ñi penen" or "Kimñë pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche ŋen (little one) or as pichi weche wentru (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futra wentru (growing-up boy); the girl as futra domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi wentru (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were hushed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 19-year-old girl told her 5-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 2-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked "How can you manage four sons?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings." 186 [181]

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel out. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher. 865

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Alepúe schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it." 866

865

TEASING, QUARRELING, USING "BAD WORDS," TEMPER TANTRUMS

Teasing is a chief amusement of children: boys tease boys, girls tease girls, sisters tease sisters, and brothers tease brothers. Teasing is done about the ruka and during play hours at school. In a ruka, a 13-year-old girl teased her 11-year-old sister by pretending to strangle the sister's pullet. The younger sister objected and told her to drop the chicken. The mother finally gave the older girl a look, and the girl released the chicken. During noon recess several little girls ran back and forth past a group of older girls squatted in the shade of trees and at every passing each little girl pulled the hair of an older girl. Each older girl snatched at the hand of the little girl, and when successful slapped it.

Teasing not infrequently leads to quarreling, accompanied by hitting back and forth, sometimes with angry words. School boys said their quarrels usually began during games, such as playing ball or spinning tops. "We begin peacefully, but sometimes disagree and end up in a quarrel, sometimes in a fist fight. Then, if one of us is cornered so that he no longer has his freedom, his anger becomes fierce." A young boy was angered by three older boys and a fight resulted. He fought back with his fists for a while; then stood with his back against the school wall calling to the one who would not stop molesting him, "You are an ox!" The attacker took it with a grin, as though he still had the upper hand. One morning at school rollcall, three boys, aged 7 to 9, two of them brothers, were absent. Children in attendance were certain that the two brothers were giving the third boy a "licking" for having used their father's nickname when speaking of him, as the brothers had warned the boy three days previously that they were going to do so. The teacher also related that she had had repeated reports that children of two families quarreled on their way to and from school. When questioned, the children of one family said that the relatives of the other family had invited their father to a machitun merely to send sickness through him to one of their sisters. (There is a belief that all sickness comes through poisoning in some unknown or mysterious way; cf. p. 110.) Another teacher told of two girls—one a cousin that had been adopted by the family of the other—who got into a quarrel at home and in consequence would not walk to or from school together on the two following days.

Schoolgirls gave as the chief reason for quarrels among themselves being called "bad words"; none would write or speak the bad words. Their teacher noted that possibly it was an expression in Spanish, "cuncho de tu madre" (shellfish of your mother), one that is greatly

resented. "It is considered a vile expression," the teacher added. 865
"Children who know very little Spanish will use it when their anger has been roused."

Temper tantrums were not usual on the part of small children; seldom did an older child have one. Mothers ignored such displays: "The child is merely angry and such a child has to learn to live alone with its anger or to overcome it." Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have often seen a child tied to its cradleboard, crying pitifully and continuously, with no one paying the slightest attention to it. Just yesterday I said to a mother, 'Maybe the baby wants its little arms freed; it has cried so long.' To which the mother replied, 'No; it is only self-willed.' Recently a little 2-year-old girl had a fit of temper —she threw herself on the floor of the ruka, kicked, and screamed. I suggested to the mother that she spank her, and so help her to overcome her temper. The mother looked at me with surprise and said, 'I could not spank so small a child; she will learn by and by, if no one pays any attention to her.' I could not bear the screaming any longer. I picked up the child, looked at her sternly, and gave her a few gentle taps on her back. She stopped crying immediately and looked at me. The mother remarked, 'She is surprised; she has never had that done to her.'"

STEALING, INTOXICATION

An occasional child steals. Parents, however, feel disgraced by the 867
act, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, if possible without implicating the thief. The following examples seem to indicate this: A football disappeared from a school room. The teacher spoke of it, saying that the one who had it in his possession, or anything else that did not belong to him, could not be at peace with his conscience and had better return the thing to the rightful owner. Shortly afterward the boy whom she suspected told her that he had seen the ball in a swamp, not far from his home. Two sisters in their late teens attended private sewing lessons taught at school on Saturdays. One Saturday a box of pins disappeared. The following Monday the teacher announced to her class that the pins were missing and that the thieves were known, and told the children to report at home that unless the pins were returned the names of the thieves would be made public as a warning to others. The following day, before school was called, a brother of the suspected girls stayed close to the teacher's desk; all other children were on the playground. Thinking he wanted to return the pins unbeknown to her, the teacher left the room. When

867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 685 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 273 276 828 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came [illegible] The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

821 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or
"unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of
as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first
menstruation as "young woman" (ülche) and also as "unmarried
woman" or "single woman" (föcha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting 841
Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way
for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about
it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed
to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not
get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl
no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukiiri, [278]
and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken
sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a men- 841
struating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. 864
The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

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ADULT BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 Adults bathe often; many do so daily, even during the winter season. "Our people have always bathed much." Bathing is done in flowing water, in rivers or creeks or under waterfalls or at springs. No soap or substitute is used when bathing.

The hair is frequently washed; shampooing is done when bathing
[388] is done. Soap is used by those who have it; others make suds by rubbing the bark of quillay between the hands. During the present study a 70-year-old woman took a bath standing in the river a little distance offshore, all but her head covered with her shawl (pl. 29, *2*). After her bath, still standing in the river, she washed her hair. She parted it from neck to forehead, soaped one side well with a bar of soap, and rinsed it thoroughly by splashing it with handfuls of water which she scooped up with both hands as she stooped from the waist; then she treated the other side in the same manner. She noted, "I wash my hair every third day, but I bathe every day." She now fine-combed
302 it. "I use this comb because my son gave it to me; I prefer to use a brush." She dressed her hair in one of the traditional fashions, twisting the hair on the right side and holding the end in her mouth to keep the twist intact; then she twisted the hair on the left side and took the ends of the two twists with opposite hands, slung them over her head, crossed them at the back of the neck, and brought them around the head just above the ears and close to the hairline over the forehead. Here she crossed them again and tucked the ends under and over the twists. It was 6:20 p.m. She walked ashore where she picked up three headbands woven of yarn, one approximately an inch in width and 1½ yards in length, and two narrower ones about a foot in length. The shorter head bands had several horse hairs attached to one end. "These bands I use when I dress up my hair; I wash them every time I wash my hair." A machi in Alepúe area wore a 3-strand braid of reddish hair on the crown of her head; ends hung loose (pl. 29, *1*). The hair is brushed, when wet, with a hairbrush made of roots of calle calle, coral, or rüna (p. 48). An adult woman's hair is never cut. "Formerly parents would not have tolerated even a young girl's hair to be cut—a girl with short hair was no longer admired." A woman, today, parts her hair over the crown from forehead to neck and then either twists (ñatrowe) or braids each half. Always the ends are secured by being rolled into yarn or strips of cloth;

sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, *r*; 56.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married. 302

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of piliaroral (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Kepkenkina (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. An occasional person has gray hair. [924] [145]

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarüloŋko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, a[illegible]d: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men [illegible] were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face we[illegible] with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct style (fig. 9, b). 301 [602]

30| of a distinct style (fig. 4, *b*). Boys sometimes wore them until early adolescence, "for when a boy began to be treated like a man, he wanted to look like one." In Panguipulli area, an occasional man wore them "because his grandfather, who was reared in Argentina, did so." No specimens of earrings in Museo Araucano de Temuco were labeled as having been worn by men. Whether feathers played a role in bodily adornment was not ascertained. Cooper's sources say they played a minor one (1946, p. 711).

Women wore silver pendants known as chawaitu. Chawaitu consisted of small plates decoratively incised and either with or without dangles of small silver disks. Those seen today are heirlooms, as are most personal ornaments. Since silver is expensive today and silversmiths are few in number, silver earrings of the old pattern are no longer being made, "anyway one can buy pretty ones in Chilean stores." Nose rings were not worn. A 50-year-old man had not seen men wear bracelets but had heard old persons say that formerly both men and women wore them. Women wear them today.

Men did not wear necklaces. According to Cooper's sources women wore necklaces of llanca (llaŋka), stones of green and bluish-green color, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of seashells were used (1946, pp. 711-712). Women I saw wore two kinds of neck pieces: one, worn close to the neck called trarupel; another extending over the chest called trapelakucha. The owners said they were heirlooms. The trapelakucha consists of three strands of silver links attached to a plate (pls. 27; 55, *3*). The plate consists of two engraved birds facing each other. To the lower ends of the three strands of links is attached a trapezoidal or half-moon-shaped plate incised with a decorative floral design. Generally disks dangle from this plate. Evidently there are standard measurements for the trapelakucha, for six specimens measured 11 inches in length, and the plate with two birds facing each other 4 to 4½ inches, horizontally.

Stickpins were used by women primarily to fasten shawls close to the neck. One type of stickpin (pl. 27, *4*), the təpu or akucha təpu, has either a discoid or a spherical head. Heads of five specimens varied in diameter from 2½ to 6 inches. The length of the pin was 8 to 10 inches. Decorations along the edge on one discoid were dots, not quite perforated, and two lines that crossed at right angles at the center. Another type of stickpin (more often it is a safety pin) was the ʃikill. (Museo Araucano de Temuco specimens were labeled siquel.) A single strand of silver links is attached to it, to the last link of the strand a formée cross, and to the cross either several small disks or one large one with several dangles. The usual length of the ʃikill is 12 or 13 inches.

A headband, called trarüloŋko, worn by women, has links of silver disks dangling from the section above the forehead and/or temples (pl. 55); disks number from 41 to 45. A trarüloŋko serves to keep the hair back and also as an ornament. The lləfalləfnətrowe (pl. 55, *2*), a woven band with sections of silver studs, is merely ornamental. Total lengths of lləfalləfnətrowe varied from 27 to 35 inches. Unstudded sections are wound around bunches of hair. An occasional adult man or woman or young woman today wears a ring made from a 20-centavo Chilean coin; many young men wear them. 301

According to Cooper's sources there was not much face or body painting until more recent times, when face painting was not uncommon (1946, p. 711). During the present study young women were seen occasionally with cheeks slightly rouged; in general, these women had been employed in Chilean families. Aside from this, there was no body painting. 302

Brown is the accepted proper skin color. "It is the Mapuche color; Chileans could not be brown, if they wanted to be; neither could you, you were born white. Are the Mapuche in North America dark-skinned too?"

Every Araucanian man and woman is proud of a nose if it is like the bill of the bandurria, "like the nose of a Mapuche should be." It is like a Roman nose with a decided flare of the nostrils. (Cf. pls. 23, 24.) As previously stated (p. 20) no Araucanian is proud of a low hairline. Adults are known to pluck hairs in order to raise the hairline. The writer saw boys doing so to each other at school; girls also. Those who live in localities where Chileans predominate not infrequently shave the forehead to heighten the hairline. Non-Araucanian herbalists in all areas had been asked for depilatories to remove the hair on the forehead.

Instances such as the following indicated that informants were conscious of their personal appearance: A young man arranged to have a picture taken of himself, "but not until tomorrow." The next day he appeared well dressed except for a hat. He obtained a hat, which any man may borrow from the teacher when he must go where Chileans are, and posed for his picture, making certain that the hat was properly tilted and that the corners of a fancy handkerchief he had tucked into his breast pocket showed. He moved his feet about until they were in the desired position, looked into the camera, and said with satisfaction, "Bueno!" When he saw the picture (pl. 26, *3*), he was pleased, but remarked that he looked rather well fed. On another occasion, wanting a picture of a kəpam (dress worn by women), I asked a young woman to remove her apron so the kəpam

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302 could be better seen—it being a warm day she had already removed her shawl. She resented the request, said something about modesty, scolded, straightened her apron, put on her shawl and pinned it properly (the kepam was nearly completely covered by now!), shooed away the children, posed, and said, "Bueno!" One day in Alepue area a man galloped along the Pacific beach on horseback to catch up with me to say that an airplane had come within five yards of the ground where he happened to be examining a fence; in fact, it was so close that he could see the man sitting in the cockpit—something he had not expected to happen in his lifetime. He was filled with surprise and excitement. His horse, with head high, snorted. The setting was perfect for a photograph. When asked to halt a moment to have his picture taken, he answered, "Nothing doing! Nothing doing! Not in this torn pants." (His pants at the knees showed four distinct layers of patches.) He swung his horse around, called once more with emphasis, "Not in this old pants!" and galloped away.

FRIENDSHIPS

572 Sincere and lasting friendships existed. Close friends were usually relatives. "I have noticed that always two women who are particular friends are related," said a non-Araucanian; "the same is true of men." A 21-year-old man wanted his 24-year-old distant relative in a photograph with himself. "He is my best friend," he remarked. "I ask him for things sometimes, and he gives them to me; he seldom asks me for anything, for he is richer than I am. We also ask to use each other's things. He and I are not like brothers; we are best friends. Everybody has a special friend." It was noted, however, that an occasional man and woman did not have a very close friend.

Occasionally in former times two unmarried men, or two married men and their families, gave expression to their mutual friendship in a get-together known as konchotun; if the expression of friendship was one between two women or a woman and a man, it was called mechatun. (Cf. also Cooper, 1946, pp. 727, 743.) Essential characteristics of both konchotun and mechatun were sincere mutual respect and the presentation of a lamb or sheep by one friend to the other followed by eating together an ample meal—not the lamb or sheep received as a gift, but one supplied by the recipient.

An informant described a konchotun between two men as follows: "This is done only where deep, deep friendship exists. A man will bring a lamb or a sheep to his friend as a gift. The friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own lambs or sheep and prepares it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later the man who feasted his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's ruka. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feasts the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a konchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lewdness." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a konchotun for you. There has been no konchotun in this area for some years; it costs too much to give one." If a konchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out at the ngillatun. 572

COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in ages. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in making contacts, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality." 576

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and 574

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574 walk toward him, especially if the visitor has been invited or if there is a barking dog nearby. Should an unexpected visitor be approaching or an unexpected person be accompanying the invited visitor, the door of the ruka is closed and no one appears on the scene until all is in readiness within the ruka. Visitors, in such instances, linger at a little distance, awaiting the opening of the door and a call to enter, or they await the appearance of someone who will give a greeting of welcome. If neither of these happens within a reasonable time, the visitor may knock on the door. If there is no response, he leaves the place knowing that he is not welcome at that particular time. On one occasion my companions and I met no response and consequently left the place. When we were well on our way over the top of a hill, we saw the woman and her children leave the ruka for a bath in a river nearby. The following day we were met by the woman some distance from the ruka and given a hearty welcome, but no explanation was offered for the preceding day's silence. The woman had merely done the customary thing. On another occasion the interpreter wished to deliver some medicines at a ruka we were passing en route to another family. She walked up to the ruka and called the woman's name. When we were still some distance from the ruka, we had seen the woman and her two little girls enter it and close the door. When there was no response, the interpreter remarked that in all probability the ruka was not in order, and we walked on. On our way home the woman stood outside the open door and greeted us. We chatted a little in her yard, and then she invited us to enter her ruka. Low benches had been set and covered, and the little girls were in their best dresses.

When a visitor is expected at a ruka, either a sheep pelt or woven throw is placed on each low bench or low chair or on the floor, close to the fireplace. In a ruka to which we had been invited to observe the making of mote (wheat cooked with ashes, cf. pp. [illegible]) the mother ordered a child to replace a sheep pelt with a newly woven throw. "Certainly, child," the mother said, "we must give visitors our best; that is only being courteous!" One is seated only after he has shaken hands with everyone present, including anyone busy near the ruka or in the garden who comes in to shake hands and then returns to his work. Once seated, one inquires about the health and well-being of all the members of the family, and for the whereabouts of those not present. Similar questions are asked of the visitor. This done, one begins to tell the purpose of the visit. Never, under any circumstances, does one begin with one's business immediately upon being seated. We noticed that all men and women—in some instances

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older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines 574
never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling
their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicine
requested was.

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, 574
shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his 626
father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone,
of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern [537]
of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each
other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted
when the bride price is paid, and at the gillatun. A boy is formally
trained in conducting one.

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback 574
ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors,
even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 176, 183).
During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled
across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one
woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times
shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were.
"That was for you," said the Araucanian woman to me. "We are all
glad that you and Señorita Margarita are here. This is an old custom
we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors."

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward stran- 574
gers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized 431
avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited
during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were
offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may
decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one
making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants
a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729).
When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home
with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden.
On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she
entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered
this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens
came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to me, saying she
wanted me to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are
always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there.

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. 574
Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on [735]
for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have

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578 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a house, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the gillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152
578 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a choapino (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that choapino," and added with humor, "The Chilean
* women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her account with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152
521 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, 152
according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on 628
horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, [illegible]
"That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a
gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not
comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are 152
proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will
show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage
place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "indios," but as "indígenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the 157
women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only *seven*. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some dis- 834
tance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

839 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [568] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, DISAGREEMENTS, REVENGE, HATRED, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 28-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her oldest

brother over the ownership of a ruka: "When my father died my brother took his place in our family; I was still small then. Before my mother died, a year ago, she gave me this ruka—she and I were living in it; my brother had married and lived in his own ruka. I have lived here since my mother died. And now my brother lays claim to the ruka. He has repeatedly asked me recently to live with him and his family. I have told him that I will not come to live with him—his wife uses bad expressions. Since then he does not come to see me; nor does he talk to me; he passes me by on the road without a greeting." [illegible]

Simultaneous wives were known to quarrel occasionally, but in general there was little dissension among them. Instances of prolonged quarreling between husband and wife existed in all areas, but were regarded as of rare occurrence; usually the woman gives in; an occasional one does not. "The Mapuche woman is humble. She is obedient, even if her husband is quarrelsome," said a non-Araucanian.

Quarrels between two intoxicated men are frequent; often they end in lively fist fights. Such men will give each other black eyes, will bruise or cut each other's faces, and then on the following day will transact a joint business with a third man. "Neither one seems to mind the beating he got from the other," said the informant.

Prolonged family feuds seldom occur; one was known to exist during the present study. Short-lived quarrels between families, however, arise sporadically. One cause is neglecting to keep fences repaired to prevent cattle from breaking through and damaging crops. Quarrels between schoolchildren are sometimes taken up by their respective families. Sides are taken and members exchange hasty words. If feelings become strained, public opinion is sought. Because of a quarrel, a man closed up a fence, thereby shutting off a path used by schoolchildren. The father of the children asked the teacher: "Do you think that this is just? We have had a path through this man's land and another family's land and our land for years. No one has ever objected. And now this man does what no man ever should do: treat other people's children badly. Tell me, do you think he is fair?"

Anger is expressed by the father of a family more often than by any other person. He may vent his anger on both his wife and children, but more particularly his wife, in words or beatings.

An exasperated person—adult or child—will say of or to another: "You stupid person" ([illegible]), or "You senseless person" ([illegible]), or more rarely "You devil" ([illegible]). Angry adults may call each other dog in Spanish, something quite evidently not of Mapuche origin since the Mapuche word for dog ([illegible]) is not used in anger.

578 "It would not name the same." The expressions used by angry persons, generally hurled back and forth between them, informants preferred not to translate. "They are really bad words; I will not tell them; they are not words related to ours. We have words, too, that are so bad that should a mother be very angry with her children, she will not call her children by them." Cooper lists cursing common in cuffing terms "pig," "dog," and "louse," and, as worst of all, "sorcerer." He directs the reader ([illegible], p. [illegible]) to Guevara ([illegible], pp. [illegible]) for a list including greater insults.

An old man gave a sample of an imprecation used by Araucanians, "even in old days." He spoke it in low tones in Araucanian. His wife and daughter expressed displeasure, in fact slight horror. He translated it as meaning, "Would that it were the will of God that you be unlucky." He added, "This is the worst thing of all that one Mapuche can say to another."

578
682 Murder is known to have resulted from anger. An instance was related in which relatives of an Araucanian woman who was married to a Chilean came to the woman's ruka and told her that they were taking the land on which she and her Chilean husband were living. There had been much quarreling between the two groups regarding the land, because Chileans, so the relatives claimed, had no right to live on Araucanian land. One of the women relatives had with her a leather strap; with it, she said, she would whip the Chilean off the land if he refused to leave it. When the quarrel was on, she attempted to do this. The Chilean grabbed the strap and whipped the woman so severely with it that she died a few hours later. The Chilean, accompanied by his brother, immediately delivered himself up to Chilean civil authorities. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The immediate relatives of the woman said nothing; more distant ones sided with the Chilean on the ground that the woman had had no right to whip this man or any other man. The informant continued: "That Chilean man was not known to be a quarrelsome man; he probably lost his temper." The interpreter noted: "The Mapuche do not uphold anyone of their own who is punished by the Chilean courts, not even a near relative. They say that the person has committed an offense and is deserving of his punishment."

[illegible] Revenge is taken upon another by doing harm to his fields through witchcraft (pp. [illegible]), or to his person by secretly putting poison into his food or drink, or by bringing sickness upon him through witchcraft. I was told of a case of a jealous machi (one of three simultaneous wives) who bore her husband no child, while the other two wives did. When these other two wives were found dead, one with her child in her arms, the machi was accused of poisoning them.

Suicide was committed by hanging. It was not infrequently committed by a woman grieving over an irremovable cause, especially a married woman who found herself in an unbearable situation, such as having to live in a forced marriage to which she would not or could not adjust, or because she was being beaten at every slight provocation by a husband with an uncontrolled temper. "In my 50 years among the Mapuche," said a non-Araucanian missionary, "25 instances have come to my knowledge in which a woman hung herself; the most recent one occurred two years ago [1945]. When a man returns home and does not find his wife there, or finds that she has left no word for him, he knows that she has hung herself. A woman usually finds a most isolated and unfrequented place to do so. She selects an elevated place on which to stand, ties her belt about her neck, ties the other end of the belt to a branch of the tree which she has bent down, and then releases the branch. She then dangles in midair and dies. People help the man search for her. If they do not find her, they wait until they see large numbers of jote [Chilean vultures] flying about in one place. Jotes gather where there is dead meat. They know then that her body can be found there." 762

A man is known to commit suicide when rejected by his sons—almost without exception a son is submissive and deeply respectful toward his father all his lifetime. A non-Araucanian teacher told of a suicide of a father: "This happened a few years ago—it is the only instance of suicide in this area in the past 10 years. It was generally known that the man and his wife quarreled and that the older sons sided with the mother. During a quarrel one of the sons injured his father with a hoe. The father took a lasso and left the ruka. Later he was found dead, hanging from a tree not far from the ruka. Every Mapuche tried to hush the affair for fear the Chilean police would exhume the body to ascertain whether the death had been due to violence by another—a thing for which persons are imprisoned. The father, however, took revenge, it was said. Periodically, over a long period of time, he came back to his ruka. No one ever saw him, but he slammed the door when he entered, howled about the place, and sometimes caused the fire to flare up. The young children were afraid to be in the ruka; even the older sons did not wish to be in it alone."

Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. "Very old people have told that in very early times it sometimes happened that our people did not have enough to eat and that from sheer hunger a few lost their minds; such persons sometimes ate the meat off other Mapuche who had died. But at no other time did Mapuche eat humans." 731
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THEFT, INTOXICATION

674 According to Chilean police, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. When an Araucanian is arrested, it is, almost without exception, either for theft or for an injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during a fist fight while intoxicated. The Sisters at the mission stations corroborated this. Cooper lists theft as one of the chief crimes of the Araucanians (1946, p. 726).

Cattle were known to have been stolen in the areas covered by the present study, "for no good reason." In one area a man stole chickens "for a good reason"—to feed his hungry family. He owned no land, cattle, or sheep, and was unable to find enough work to buy food. One evening he was caught stealing chickens from the coop of a non-Araucanian. The non-Araucanian reprimanded him, then gave him two additional chickens and sent him home. The next day she engaged him in work for pay and urged Araucanian neighbors to do so also and to share food with the man's family. They did so, but they did not cease from expressing a wish to both the non-Araucanian and the man that he move his family to where relatives lived. "After all, both he and his wife have relatives; this is no place for him."

When the Sisters' house in Alepúe was being destroyed by fire (1939), all movable things were carried out or were thrown out of windows, and were lying about the place for several days. Not an article was taken. For the following three weeks these articles were stored in an empty, unlocked ruka, and nothing was missing when the
[685] Sisters returned. In the early days, theft was punishable, even with death; today it is punished by Chilean courts with imprisonment.

A family is sensitive to the accusation of theft against one of its members. During the present study the key to a school door was missing. Suspicion was cast on a certain boy by his schoolmates. When the teacher questioned him he admitted that he had taken the key, but had lost it. The boy's paternal grandmother and aunt came to the teacher to assure her that the boy was no thief; that he had admitted taking the key only because of the pressure the schoolchildren had exercised by their accusations; that he had really been frightened into admission; that they would most certainly be ashamed to have a thief in the family. In the afternoon the key was found in the schoolyard by children playing there.

273 Formerly, in general, Araucanian men drank to excess only when in a group; rarely did women drink to excess. Occasions when it was expected that men would drink to intoxication were the end of the threshing of each family's harvest and at the completion of the erec-

tion of a ruka. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other in these occupations. Mudai, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that some persons satisfied their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (funa ponü, pp. 208-209). 273

Today a keg of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and ruka-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a goodly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious fiestas—never, however, when people are gathered for the ŋillatun. "Most certainly not then; no one is intoxicated at the ŋillatun." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at feasts (1946, p. 741).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, 867 chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, 868 and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the home of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason.

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to council their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

867 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back; and to follow these instruction until his father's death.

868 Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Alepúe schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Communities recognize parents as the proper instructors. Informants made excuses for children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "No wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how those children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the ŋillatun.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning. "Since it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

828 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people: some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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be photographed and burst into sobs. Her father ordered her to face the camera; she refused to do so and continued to cut grain, sobbing. I suggested that a picture be taken another day, but the father would not hear of it. He spoke kindly and in quiet tones to the girl—he seemed to be explaining things to her. When she again refused, and now wept out loud, he walked briskly toward her, loosened a strap which he had tied about his waist and threatened to whip her. She then moved toward him, but continued to cry. Both got into a position of cutting grain and the picture was taken. The father continued to talk to the little girl in a more kindly tone but definitely one of correction. The following day the mother ordered the same little girl to fetch berets for the younger sister and brother. She did so, but threw them at her little brother and sister, instead of handing them. The father corrected her for this and then remarked to the writer, "That girl has been badly brought up. Her mother and I have talked it over. We do not like to whip her. We shall have to continue talking to her and threatening her. She is simply different from our other children." 828

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

As indicated above, children were taught the mores of the people largely by direct verbal instructions or by listening in. Often instructions were abstract; concrete examples were used when the occasion called for them: a cattle thief who was recently imprisoned was held up as an example of what not to do. Occupations and other activities were learned through nonparticipant observations, imitation in play, and active participation with elders. 861

One unfailing antecedent to all teaching was, and is today, to order the child to give its undivided attention and concentrate on what it was being taught. The parent, or other instructor, made certain that the child had understood this, and did not begin to teach until the child was ready. This intense concentration holds for adults, as well: "When Mapuches really want to learn something, they concentrate upon it intently, and look at it all the while that they are learning it. And then when they have learned it, they will really know it." Having to repeat information is, consequently, resented. Informants, it was found, invariably did so with hesitation and annoyance (cf. p. 66). A non-Araucanian teacher said, "It is difficult to get a Mapuche pupil to recite a lesson that requires repetition, such as history or the multiplication tables. The answer always is, 'I have it inside of me; that is enough. If you would like to know it, you can read it in the book.' They are quite willing to write the material, however, and will do well when doing so."

861 Teaching is often clarified by means of diagram or demonstration. A 70-year-old man made a diagram of the ŋillatun and the machitun on paper when explaining the location of the activities of each. A 38-year-old man made a graphic sketch of mountains and valleys to show the location of land (which was being considered for distribution among the people) that he hoped to obtain for his children. A 60-year-old woman gave a lively and detailed demonstration of the manner in which a marriage was formerly arranged: leaves from an apple tree, in whose shade we sat, represented members of the groom's family; leaves of lettuce from the garden, members of the bride's family; a blade of grass, the messenger, who was not a member of either family. Stem ends, she pretended, did the conversing. She resorted to this demonstration because the writer had asked her to clarify several points of an account which she had given the previous day. She noted with some annoyance that she was having recourse to a method used in teaching children.

863 In occupations the child is taught and made responsible for simple things first and more complicated ones as it grows older. A 70-year-old man said, "As soon as my boys walked, I trained them to pick up sticks and carry them to the fireplace. With this as a beginning, they worked at whatever they could do as they grew older. Whenever they saw me go out to work, they followed me to help me. When they were still quite small, they directed my oxen when I plowed or pulled logs."

Quoting a mother: "I taught my girls from little on how to tend to chickens and pigs, to wash dishes, prepare food, and wash clothes. When a girl is about 12 years old, the mother—or the grandmother, if the girl has no mother or the mother is sick—will say to her, 'Sometime you will be a housewife; in order to be a good one, you must from now on rise early with me, every day.' They rise then, each morning, when the birds begin to chirp; this trains the girl to rise early. The mother from then on teaches the girl one thing at a time and observes and directs her in her work. They sit opposite each other when the girl is learning so that the mother can direct the girl's work. The girl must work diligently. If a visitor comes to their ruka, the mother teaches her daughter how to serve him, and to do things for him." The mother motivates an older daughter by saying to her, "If you are industrious, you will more easily have a suitor; before long then a suitor will come for you. Some day I will die, and then you must know how to do all things expected of a woman. You must learn how to serve a husband well, too." Then in a very serious mien, the informant added: "The mother tells her daughter, too, that she can be a mother. 'I gave birth to you and reared you; you will have

Alepúe boy making a top from wood of luma: 1, Cutting a piece of wood to proper size with an ax. 2, Whittling it into shape with a jackknife. 3, Examining its proportions. 4, Smoothing its surface by rubbing it over a steel file.

[p. 76(A)]

[412]

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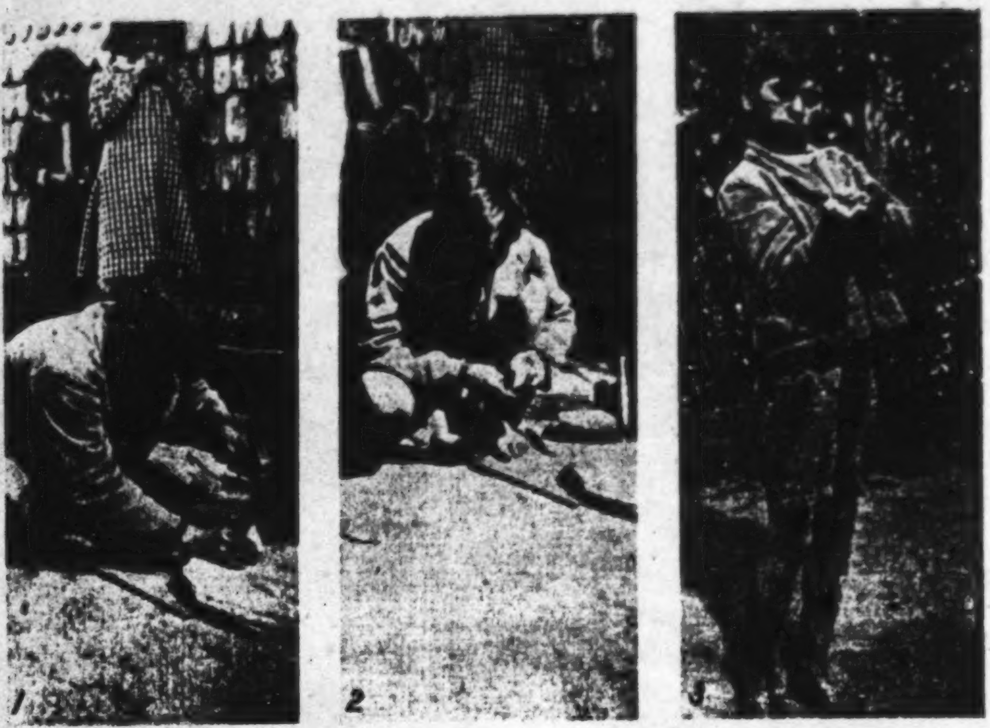
[p. 76(B)]



Making a top (continued): 1, Hammering a shingle nail into the tip of the top. 2, Filing away the head of the nail and giving the nail a dull point. 3, Twisting a cord to be used in spinning the top. (See plate 16 also for twisting of cord.)

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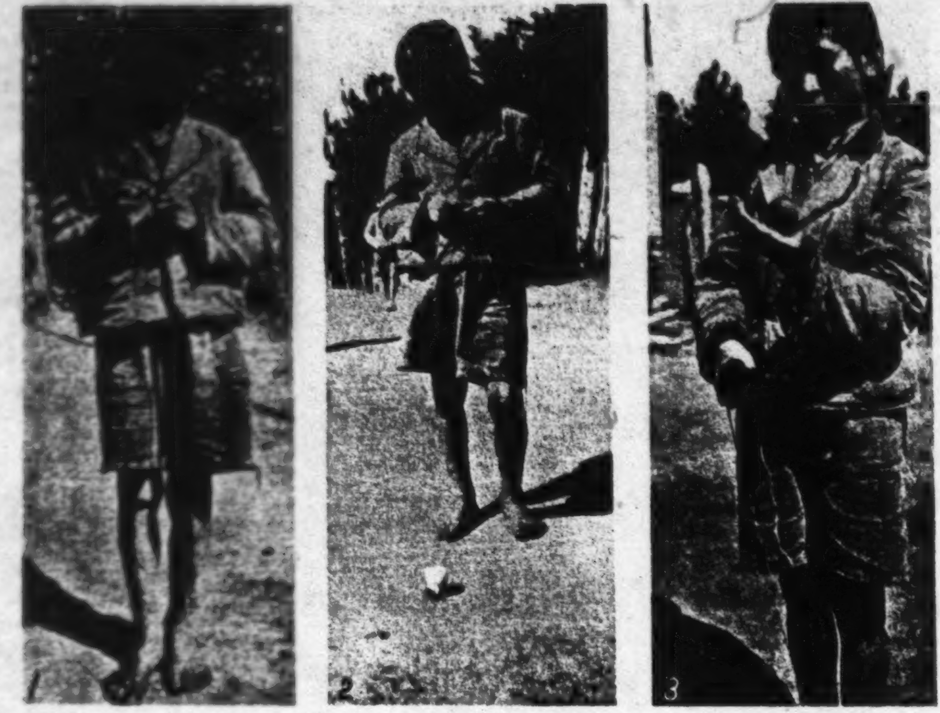
[p. 76(c)]



Spinning the top: 1, Winding the cord about the surface of the top. 2, Spinning the top. 3, The boy has slid his hand under the spinning top and now lets it continue to spin in his hand.

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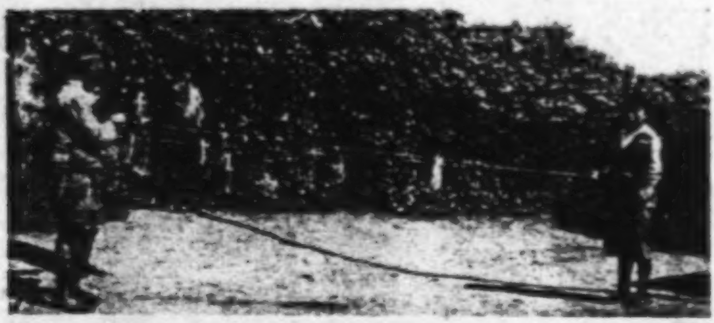

[417]

Tops (Alepüe): 1, Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3, Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(0)]

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Performing the dances of adults (Alepúe): 1, 2, Boy 7 years of age and girl 10 dancing the walse. (Note their lack of inhibitions.) 3, 4, Boys 11 and 12 years of age dancing the choike with girls 13 and 14 years of age. (Note their bashfulness in figure 3.)

[p. 76(E)]

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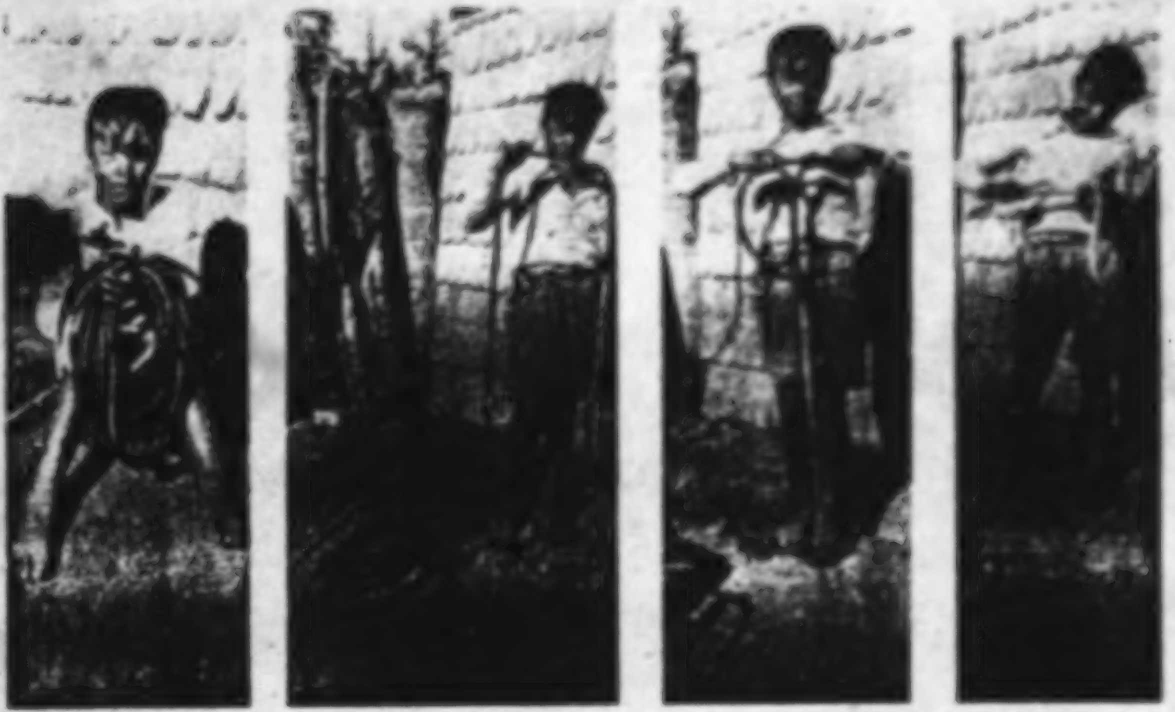

Alepúe boy making a futbol of cochayuyo: 1. This boy has just returned from the Pacific with the cochayuyo, an alga. 2. Dampening the cochayuyo with saliva helps to make the initial knots tight. 3. The beginning of the ball. 4. The ball being built up by slipping the strand of cochayuyo under and through the tightened loops of the ball.

[p.76(F)]

[p. 74(6)]

Making a fofial (continued): 1, Using a small stick to push the thick end of the cochayuyo through a loop. 2, Chewing an end of a second strand of the cochayuyo to soften it, thus facilitating its use. 3, The completed fofial. 4, "Bueno! It bounces."

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18: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

9c.

Family groups: 1, the [illegible] family and the children's [illegible] grandmother. The daughters [illegible] in the background.) 2, The [illegible] [illegible] family. 3, The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] family. [illegible] [illegible]

[p. 76-a]

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957

RG4 Announcement RG4
Chile

children too, and you must care for them. If you will train your children as I trained you, you will have no trouble with them.' The mother tells her all this."

Older boys and girls everywhere taught younger brothers and sisters, either by letting them observe what they were doing and explaining the procedure to them, or by letting them help with the work and directing them in it.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

Before the child is able to comprehend, incentives and compulsions used are very simple—indeed, they can hardly be called that. In general, the attention of a small child that is beginning to comprehend is distracted from conduct that is not conforming to accepted standards by saying "hatch" to it, once or several times. This is said in subdued tones. Fathers and mothers and older brothers and sisters were seen correcting small children in this manner. During an interview a mother took into her lap a 2-year-old boy who did much fussing and would not respond to her "hatches." When he continued being restless, she passed him to her husband, where he was quiet for a little while. When he began fussing again, she handed him to his 10-year-old sister, but slapped his legs before doing so. Other children who were noisily playing close by were repeatedly admonished by a "hatch" from her. Any child that is old enough to comprehend and does not heed "hatches" is spoken to in subdued tones, but in a stern voice; always in a disapproving manner. Not once did the writer hear a child corrected in a loud voice.

Old informants said that praise and rewards were seldom given in their childhood days. "To give a girl recognition for what she was or did, was not our custom; the very fact that a person was satisfied with her, and with what she did, was enough reward. If a boy's conduct was outstanding, he was rewarded by being sent to a cacique with an important message or with words of comfort to a family in which a death had occurred."

Today, too, a child able to comprehend is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things or favors are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. *Alepúe* schoolchildren had been praised or rewarded materially by fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles, and aunts (but not by sisters) for work well done. One of the boys had been praised by his father for reminding him of several things which he, the father, was forgetting to do while they were on a journey. Other rewards received by boys were 25 pesos for tending a horse;

10 pesos for going on a trip with an uncle; a turkey hen, by a mother, for tending little turkeys; 2 pesos, by a brother, for helping to find a horse; 5 pesos for weeding the potatoes; 5 firecrackers as a prize for climbing to the top of a flagpole. Rewards received by girls were candy from a brother for weeding the garden well; chocolates from a father for helping him weed the garden; a hen from a mother for tending little turkeys; a turkey gobbler, a chicken, and a pup for helping a mother; a turkey gobbler from a mother for tending little turkeys; and a chicken from an aunt for tending her chickens.

In general a child that has reached the age of complete comprehension, today as formerly, is coerced, when necessary, to conform to behavior standards. Both parents do so by corrections in stern tones, by scolding in angry ones, by deprivations, by slapping the child's hands, and by spankings or whippings. A mother deprived her 8-year-old son of his freedom because he fought with a boy in the neighborhood. She isolated him in a room for a week; not even for his meals was he allowed to leave it. Since the mother would not relent, the teacher sent his reader to him. By the time his mother released him, he was not only able to read all of the book, but also a newspaper that he had found in the room. "When he returned to school," said his teacher, "he was able to read well, something that he was not able to learn in school in two years." A father deprived a 14-year-old girl of a trip as a punishment: "Because I told a lie, I had to stay home when the others went to Villarrica." A 60-year-old father had deprived his children, when they were young, of a meal, as correction: "Sometimes, when we sat down to eat, some of them complained about the food. My wife would beg them to eat. But I would order them to leave the ruka and forbade them to eat anything until the next evening."

Regarding corporal punishment, all mothers agreed that a child not yet able to walk should not be slapped or spanked; most of them thought such corrections useless before the child had the ability to comprehend. One mother thought that anything that could be accomplished by slappings and spankings could be accomplished by admonitions or scoldings, but her husband believed that even a 2-year-old child was helped by being slapped, but that always the mother should do the slapping—never a man. Small children had been slapped by mothers for soiling themselves after toilet habits had been established, for playing in mud, and for refusing to be dressed.

In general, parents objected to anyone but themselves slapping or spanking their child. A mother told a non-Araucanian who had slapped her son that the boy had a father and therefore needed no one else to slap him. In another case, however, a father spanked his son 861 and then asked the boy's teacher to spank him again if he needed it. The man's father hearing of this came to the teacher and voiced his disapproval: "That man has not even the right to ask me, the boy's grandfather, to whip that boy." In another instance a teacher reported a 10-year-old boy to his father for lying and suggested that the boy be punished. To this the father replied, "Maybe the time has come to whip him; I have not done so up to now." Whipping was done with a leather strap. It was administered for a serious offense only, such as lying, stealing, or disobedience.

Some informants did not approve of the mother ever whipping an adolescent or older son; they were whipped by the father with a rawhide for offenses such as disrespect or disobedience. "A young man sometimes ran away from home when he knew there was a whipping in the offing, although he knew that he would surely be whipped on his return home. A son obeyed, even when married and when he had grown older, as long as his father lived. And he never answered his father back. Formerly a child accepted a whipping from parents even at 20, and said not a word; today small ones rise up and say that they will not be punished."

Boys of school age had been whipped at home for playing on the way home from school after having been told to come directly home; for not doing assigned work; for chasing cows to a run; for playing instead of weeding the garden; for eating green apples after being told not to. Girls of school age had been spanked or slapped on the hands by the mother for coming home late from school, for hitting a brother, for breaking a father's yerba maté cup and a mother's plate, for inadvertently slapping a brother's nose and making it bleed.

Compulsions, such as frightening, ridiculing, ignoring, mocking, nagging, coaxing, bribing, or comparing with other children in order to bring about conformity in conduct, were rarely used. Nor does it appear that, in general, children were threatened with punishment to be administered by supernatural powers. One man, however, told that his grandfather, "who knew no Spanish or anything about the Christian religion," said to him when he did not obey, "God will punish you for that." "But," the informant added, "it was the same God that punishes now, for the Mapuche always prayed to the same God as we pray to now. We never addressed prayers to idols or trees or such things."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

Araucanian children today have opportunities of attending either 871 private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of edu-

871 cation. Although attendance at school is compulsory, some children attend only one or two years. Ages of children in the first year of school ranged from 5 to 11; rarely does a child attend after 15. Grading is done by readers, there being four readers; usually a child needs two years to cover a reader. In addition to learning to read children must learn to spell, write, and draw; simple mathematics and geography are also required. Learning horticulture is encouraged.

Parents do not always see the need of formal education—"We had none, and got along." When children are chided for not being at school, they not infrequently say, "Well, mama did not send me; she said she did not go to school either."

In general, however, parents are interested in having their sons attend school; they recognize a man's need of formal education in dealing with Chileans. Girls, in all probability, would receive little or no formal education if attendance at school were not compulsory. When a teacher told a man that his daughter should be at school, he replied that if his wife decided that the girl was to attend school, then he would send her; that it was not for him to say what education his daughters should have; that it was his duty to see that his boys attended school. His attitude may have been due to the custom of mothers training daughters and fathers, sons. A father said about his 18-year-old daughter who had married recently, "What do I now have of the education my girl received? Nothing! She is just out of school and marries. Her education goes to the man who married her." A teacher remarked: "I heard an old woman say today, 'These small girls know more than we old people do,' but she seemed to be pleased about it. I have heard young women blame their parents for not sending them to school."

Of 30 families whose children attended an Alepúe area school, 20 fathers and 3 mothers were able to read and write. Four families owned a book each: three, a New Testament, and one, a book of miscellaneous collections. None of the 30 families subscribed to a newspaper, but occasionally when a father or an elder son went to a Chilean village he bought one there. There was no mail delivery in the area. Of 59 school children of these families, one boy had seen two motion pictures; another had seen one; the rest none.

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 In homes where both parents are Araucanian the native language is spoken. Consequently, on entrance to school, children from such homes know only Araucanian and must be taught Spanish as a foreign

language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian 191
do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.)

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language [212]
nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7).

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field 193
assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü."

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between 197
Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic famliy; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696).

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all 537
occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However,

537 a father makes certain that his son knows them by having him recite them. "Before we had schools the children were also taught, at home, expressions which they needed to know, such as we used in greeting relatives and in comforting the sorrowful in case of death. If a boy was bashful or unable to talk well to people, he was taken into the woods and made to stand on the stump of a roble chileno and told to talk from there to trees and plants and animals as though they were human beings. He had to use the expressions he had been taught at home. He would say: 'How are you?' for example, and the rest of the koyaqtun. Only boys had to do this. A girl's duty was to be at home in the ruka. I had to talk from a stump often." "Why from a roble chileno?" "Simply because it has the biggest stump."

537 Every boy was given the above training, but the sons of a cacique were given special training, not only in oratory but in memorizing, 622 also. A cacique would send his son to another cacique to deliver 202 verbatim a long important parliamentary message. Upon his return home, the son had again to repeat to the father verbatim, without the slightest deviation, the message the father had commissioned him to deliver, and then the answer returned by the recipient cacique. These occasions were not created; messages of necessity were being delivered. "This was a custom only among caciques, not among ordinary men." Caciques were noted orators, and since a son of a cacique replaced his father at the father's death, he must be trained in oratory. The cacique who excelled all other caciques in eloquence and memory and speech-making abilities was respected throughout the Araucanian country as its most renowned and intelligent leader—no higher compliment could be paid him.

537 Today, on any occasion when many persons meet, any man present may announce that he wishes to speak. Men, both young and old, did so in my presence. They invariably spoke of the value of honorable living. Everyone is attentive when anyone speaks; children are hushed and told to listen. Able orators are often invited to other areas to speak on special occasions.

Both addresses and discussions at present-day meetings are carried on in oratorical fashion. These, for example, may deal with the sending of delegates to a meeting about to be held at a distant point, possibly petitioning the Chilean Government for something, or they may deal with welcoming visitors to the area. Such a meeting was held in Alepúe area previous to the arrival of myself and my field assistant. At the reception given us oratorical addresses were delivered by older men, young men, a woman, and a schoolboy. (Cf. pl. 22, *2* and *3*.) Force, pauses, gestures, and direct address were used. Attentive listeners signified approval with hand clapping. The day preceding the occasion two men let it be known that it would be quite proper for me to respond to the addresses to be given in my honor. Later in the day a non-Araucanian instructed me to deliver my address in oratorical fashion, for then the Araucanians would know that they were being honored by an equal. Following my address at the reception, several persons stepped forward to shake hands with me. A leader complimented me on my intelligent presentation and oratorical ability; I had used force, he said, in proper places, and all had been punctuated with proper pauses; then he ended by saying, "but I must say, your Spanish needs to be improved and you have a decided foreign accent!" 537

Schoolchildren recognized certain boys and girls in their classes as the best orators. Teachers thought it wise to tutor such pupils, especially boys, in the principles that one wished the next generations of Araucanians to follow. Orators, they noted, are the leaders in all areas. According to Cooper's sources, oratory was an avenue to prestige and public office (1946, p. 737).

COUNTING

Every schoolboy in Alepúe could count orally in Araucanian from 1 to 1,000. Many could write the numbers also. The numerals in table 1 were written by two boys. The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. (See table 7 for Argentine Araucanian numerals.) 802

According to Cooper's sources the numbers from 100 to 1,000 are of Quechua origin (1946, p. 754). The 100-year-old Coñaripe man said that formerly it was customary to say "one pair" when one meant two of the same kind; "two pairs" for four of the same kind; "three pairs" for six of the same kind, etc. A Panguipulli woman had often heard Mapuche say "one pair and a half" when they meant three of a kind. [17]

TABLE 1.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Chile)*

1	kiñe	11	mari-kiñe	31	küla-mari-kiñe	102	pataka-epu
2	epu	12	mari-epu	40	meli-mari	199	pataka-haylla-mari-haylla
3	küla	13	mari-küla	50	kechu-mari	200	epu-pataka
4	meli	19	mari-haylla	60	kayu-mari	300	küla-pataka
5	kechu	20	epu-mari	70	regle-mari	400	meli-pataka
6	kayü	21	epu-mari-kiñe	80	pura-mari	900	haylla-pataka
7	regle	22	epu-mari-epu	90	haylla-mari	999	haylla-pataka-haylla-mari-haylla
8	pura	28	epu-mari-pura	99	haylla-mari-haylla	1000	mari-pataka
9	haylla	29	epu-mari-haylla	100	pataka		
10	mari	30	küla-mari	101	pataka-kiñe		

802 Beginners in school count from 1 to 10 by folding a finger into the palm of the hand at each number (a manner in which adults also count). If the count is beyond 10, it is usually continued on toes, a toe being bent under the foot at each number. A teacher, during her first days in a Boroa area school, said she wondered why a child was continually bending over. "I found she was doing her addition problems on her toes. Every time there was a number greater than 10, of course, she had to stoop." An Alepúe father said with pride, "My boy counts in his head now; he no longer needs an outside thing, like his fingers and toes, to do so." A Panguipulli couple past 60 had not heard of using toes in counting.

211 Informants knew of no method of keeping count "except remembering it in one's head." "I have never heard of Mapuche cutting notches in a stick or tying knots in a string or doing anything else to keep count. If anyone wanted to know anything which he could not recall, he asked other members of the family about it; someone would recall it, for if it had importance enough to be remembered, everybody in the family would have heard of it." Cooper notes that the knotted cord (quipu) was used to keep accounts of livestock and records of events; to indicate the number of days at the end of which summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab on the number of days in which work was done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of compensation for murder; and for other purposes (1946, p. 754).

MEASUREMENT OF TIME

805 The time of day is regulated by the sun (antü). Antü is a word used not only to mean sun but also to designate the span of time from sunrise to sunset. When outdoors, informants glanced or pointed at the sun when talking of time. A Coñaripe woman pointed at various points at which the sun should be when a decoction she was telling about should be given to a fever-stricken person. Another woman being interviewed in her yard looked at the sun, and said, "It is nearly midday [11:40 a.m.]." Soon her husband and children returned from the harvest fields. The smaller children peeked into the kettle, in which their older sister was preparing the midday meal, and said, "Hurry! Hurry! The sun is already overhead." At about 1 o'clock, when passing through the same yard, the woman teasingly remarked, as she glanced toward the sun, "If you do not get home soon, there will be no dinner left for you!" Nearly every family, too, had a particular place outdoors, maybe the corner of the ruka or a fence post near

the ruka ("everybody knows the place") "where when the sun strikes it, we know it is a certain time of day."

When indoors, time was told by the location of sunrays at a given spot within the ruka. "In spite of the fact that there is no clock in any home of the 59 children in this school," noted a non-Araucanian teacher, "a child is seldom late to school. The children of one of the families unfailingly arrive just five minutes before the opening." During a visit in the ruka of these children, the writer complimented the mother on this. Promptly the 10-year-old daughter pointed to the edge of the hearthstone and said, "When the sunbeams strike there [they came through a crack in the door], we have to start for school; each day they come a little farther over this way." Shadows were not used in telling time.

On cloudy or rainy days time is not accurately known, but is merely guessed. The day we departed from Coñaripe was a cloudy one, and the boy who was to take our luggage by oxcart to a boat had to be sent for. He apoligized. "We did not think it was time to leave; it is so cloudy that the sun does not show even faintly." The day of departure from Alepúe was a rainy one, and the man who was accompanying us arrived 15 minutes before the time set for leaving. "With no sun shining, I could not tell the time; but I shall wait here for you," he remarked.

Hunger indicates an approximate time. The first meal of the day is customarily eaten as soon after rising as it can be prepared; others, when hunger indicates it; usually a second one is eaten late in the afternoon.

Divisions of the day are dawn; sunrise; forenoon, or not yet noon; noon, or sun is at the zenith, or the day is half gone; afternoon, or the day is passing, or the time between two lights; sunset; and dusk. Names for the divisions differ from area to area, as shown in table 2. (See table 8 for Argentine Araucanian names for divisions of the day.)

"In winter," said an informant, "we use the above words also, but the time between the parts of the day is shorter, since the days are shorter." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 754) the 24-hour day was divided into 10 or 12 parts. According to Moesbach there are about 15 divisions (1936, pp. 82-84).

The night is called pun (darkness); the moon at zenith, ranipun (the night divided). "A man may wake up and notice whether the night has passed ranipuŋ. Or a child may take sick, and its mother say, 'That child took sick after ranipuŋ.'" In general, with reference to time of night the moon has little significance.

805 Days were not grouped into weeks. Even today, weekdays are seldom kept count of. Informants would ask, "What day of the week is today?" or "Is tomorrow Thursday? In San José they want fish on Thursday." When interviewed on Monday and asked to be interviewed on Wednesday, an informant would say, "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday—that will be the day after tomorrow; I shall be here."

A division of time from new moon to new moon was known as kūyen—a word also used when speaking of the moon. Moons were noticed as they passed. "We say, 'A new moon has begun' as you say 'A new month has begun.'" But moons were seldom kept count of except by women who did so during the months of pregnancy to know the approximate time of delivery.

TABLE 2.—*Divisions of the day and variations in the names of them (Chile)*

Divisions of day	Araucanian name	Area	As given by Félix José (1916)
Dawn	wintui	Alepúe	wün (vol. 2, p. 22)
Sunrise	chipanantü or malewanlü	Alepúe	wün'n (vol. 2, p. 26)
	pranpanantü	Panguipulli	
Forenoon, or not yet noon	puliwen	Alepúe	liwen (vol. 2, p. 233)
	liwen	Boroa	
Noon, or sun is at zenith, or one-half day is past	raŋiñantü	All	
Afternoon, or day is passing	rupañantü	Alepúe	putrafuya, time between two lights (vol. 1, p. 190)
	putrafü	Boroa	
Sunset	konoantü (purple day)	Panguipulli and Boroa	
	ammantü (just a little sun)	Alepúe	
Dusk	poniantü or prapaiantü	Panguipulli	trafuyan (vol. 2, p. 29)

A new moon begins "when the moon looks like a thin sickle." Some one will see it and say, "Llenküyen" (a new moon is born). Full moon is spoken of as a halfway moon (raŋiñküyen). It is called pillénküyen in Alepúe area; trunkuriküyen in Coñaripe area; aponküyen or pürkuyen according to Félix José (1916, vol. 2, p. 221). The moon at last quarter is called rupanküyen (the moon is withdrawing itself) in Alepúe area and pishaiküyen in Coñaripe area.

Informants were not able to give names formerly applied to the span of time known as küyen; in fact, only one informant, a 42-year-old Alepúe area man, recalled ever hearing them spoken of; he could recall no names, however. A 76-year-old Coñaripe man said: "As the new moons were born, one after the other, we said—and still say—'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' and so on but we had no names for them." He expressed surprise at hearing that Araucanian names for them had been recorded by a traveler in 1861 (Treutler, 1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The informant, assisted by a 52-year-old man, translated the names as follows:

TABLE 3.—*Names of months according to Treutler (1861, vol. 1, p. 67), with translations by two Coñaripe men (Chile, 1946)*

Months	Araucanian names	Meanings
January	avun-cujen	moon of produce: seeds, fruits, fish, flesh
February	cogi-cujen	moon for harvesting
March	glor-cujen	moon for harvesting maize
April	rimu-cujen	moon for rümü (*Oxalis lobata*)
May	inan-rimu-cujen	moon that follows rümü
June	thor-cujen	moon of the foam (foam pertaining to water)
July	inathor-cujen	moon following the foam
August	huin-cujen	moon of the quakes
September	pillel-cujen	moon wishing for things: for spring to come
October	hueul-cujen	moon of producing something to grow
November	inan-hueul-cujen	moon following the one where producing begins
December	huevun-cujen	moon of new fruit

Treutler wrote (vol. 1, pp. 66-67): "The months they call in general moons, and there is nothing more common than to hear them say that they will do something or set an appointment in this or that moon." Félix José does not give names of months, or of küyen.

Seasons were taken notice of as they passed. Depending on the informant spoken to, there were two, four, five, or seven seasons. Names of seasons were recalled with difficulty. After some discussion, in which there was much disagreement, six Alepúe area men decided the following could be recorded as correct: "There are five seasons. The first season is pichi pepum [little to see]; it is the small spring. Then comes wün'n tripantu [beginning of the year]." The informant explained: "The year begins when the male swallows return and when many birds begin to pipe their songs. It is at that time, too, that three stars that lie in a row [Orion] appear; we call these stars willi wüfchitum or willi lloftun; the Chileans call them Tres Marías. Willi means south; wüfchitun and lloftun mean to lie in ambush. Later these stars tell us that fall is here. Then comes pukan (summer). Next comes kon'a pukem, which means about to enter winter. It introduces winter. And last of all comes pukem (winter)."

Two Maiquillahue women (Alepúe area also), 80 and 60 years of age, agreed that spring was called wün'n tripántu and winter pukem, but that summer should be called aŋtünen, and fall peuŋén. Other informants had heard of only two seasons, spring and fall: "After all there is one time in the year when seeds are sown and one time when the new ones are gathered. After the planting everything grows, and after the harvest the rains soak the earth for new planting."

Treutler recorded the words peuggen for spring, ucan for summer, gualug for fall, and puchem for winter (1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The following are according to Félix José (1916): Spring may be designated in four ways: wé tripantu (new year), wün'n tripantu (beginning of year), ellaka tripantu (the time of the year when days become longer), and pewüŋen (the time of buds) (vol. 1, p. 40; vol. 2, p. 301). Summer may be antütripantu or antüŋen (the time in which one feels keenly the heat of the sun) (vol. 2, p. 403). Walən is the period of the year in which fruit ripens; it may also be called waləŋman (about to harvest, or soon to have that which is eaten) (vol. 1, p. 244; vol. 2, p. 403). Fall is called both chomün (the drying and falling of flowers and leaves) and chomüŋen (vol. 1, p. 25; vol. 2, p. 267). Winter is pukem or pukemŋen (vol. 1, p. 188).

Equinoxes are taken notice of. "We know that planting time is near when the days begin to be longer than the nights. There is also a time after the harvest when nights begin to be longer than days, and we know that from then on we shall see the sun less often, and the weather will soon be more disagreeable."

There was no conventional way of keeping count of years. An important or unusual event was generally kept in mind and years reckoned from there on. Quoting a Panguipulli teacher: "I have often heard adults and children tell of an event as having happened before or after one of the earthquakes—there have been several severe and frightening earthquakes in this area in recent years."

Adults seldom knew their ages. One old woman gave as her age: "I am so old that I remember the days when there was no bridge over this river [Río Imperial in San José de Mariquina]." "I really do not know how old I am," said a man; "my oldest son says he is now 36." Since baptism and marriage certificates are often given to adults, the date of birth, as nearly as the officiating person could discover it, can be found on them. Not infrequent answers of adults

805 are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husbands. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Coñaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any [171] one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Arapaho custom.

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

821 Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kümewenuŋei (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as məkümewenuŋei.

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it [184] is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pideñ, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Panguipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather.

In one of the valleys in Coñaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Coñaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

821 the beginning of a new moon, it will rain until full moon; but from full moon to no moon, then, one can expect fair weather." Weather was not predicted by activities of birds or other animals, "but sometimes when we go to the stores to do some buying, we hear them say that the weather is going to be unsettled, or so; persons there have read the newspapers." The bull roarer (runrun) was not used to produce rain; it was merely a toy (pp. 105-106).

NATURAL PHENOMENA

It is believed that wind causes lightning and that thunder is God's way of letting people know that He has been offended. The thunderbird was not known to informants. According to Cooper's sources of the first half of the seventeenth century (1946, p. 747), dramatic catastrophic phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder, lightning, river floods, and tidal waves, were consistently associated with pillañ. An association exists today between volcanoes, thunder and pillañ. "Both volcanoes and thunder are called pillañ," said an old man. "One of our horses was born perfectly white," said another informant, "just like the volcano Lanín is white [snow-covered], and so we called the horse Pillañ. As a little boy I traveled to Argentina with my father. As we rode along he pointed at every volcano and called each pillañ."

Schoolchildren knew of no significance attached to isolated stars, constellations, or the Milky Way. An Alepúe woman in her forties called the morning star wün yelfe. "We have no beliefs about the morning star, except that when it can be seen we know dawn is nearly here." The Milky Way, called rəpüapeu, she had heard spoken of as a bridge in the sky. According to Cooper's sources, it was the heavenly river, or the road of the "fairies" (1946, p. 753). The Alepúe woman called Orion wéluwitrau, a word which Félix José records as perhaps meaning the Southern Cross (1916, vol. 1, p. 251).

[787] An eclipse of the sun omened something undesirable, such as war or the death of an important person—"a person like the president of Chile." The 100-year-old Coñaripe man noted that everyone was frightened when there was an eclipse of the sun: "We feared the end of the world was not far off, but we did nothing about it; everyone sat very quiet until it was over with." According to Cooper, an eclipse of both sun and moon was spoken of as its death (1946, p. 753). An eclipse of the moon, according to most informants, had no significance. "No one was afraid of an eclipse of the moon; in fact, we barely took notice of it for people were asleep when it oc-

curred." A Panguipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an arəmko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Arəmko live in Panguipulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (piku), east (tripawe antü), south (waiwen or willümapu), and west (konüwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was pikukürəf; a south wind, waiwenkürəf; but a wind from the east is puelche kürəf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or naqpa kürəf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'afken kürəf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 821 823

Places in Alepúe area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruka of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Coñaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria groves; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifəlka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6;* pp. 99, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifəlka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the ŋillatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 202 534

Alepúe area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kullkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuŋkul, when no kullkull is available. (Cf. p. 99 for the making of a kuŋkul). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kullkull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If 20 boats are out and

202 534 only 19 kullkull have been heard, the 19 will then blow in unison hoping that the twentieth will hear them and answer. No boat will sail far away from sounds of the kullkull; none has been known to have gotten lost because of a fog, but it has happened that one could not hear the kullkull and consequently got away and was taken out to sea by the wind and lost.

No informant had heard of smoke signaling among Chilean Araucanians (it was recorded by one of Cooper's sources, 1946, p. 754), but an old Panguipulli man knew that Argentine Araucanians who were lost climbed to a hilltop—"there are many hilltops there, you know"—and built a fire to attract attention. "Anyone seeing the fire knew a lost person had kindled it, and should be rescued."

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, QUANTITY, WEIGHT, DISTANCE

804 Araucanian traditional linear measurements, still in use today, are the pichi duke (the Spanish jeme), the distance between tip of thumb and first finger at farthest stretch; the fücha duke (the Spanish cuarta), the distance between tip of thumb and little finger at farthest stretch; and the wima. If a wima is measured by a man, it will extend from his Adams apple, or the middle of his chest, to the tips of the fingers of an outstretched arm, or, if he is a large man, only to the tip of the thumb. A woman measures a wima from the shoulder joint of one arm to the tips of the fingers of the other arm.

Both the pichi duke and the fücha duke are used in measuring small things, such as small pieces of lumber or standard widths and lengths of woven articles, such as choapino and lama. One woman demonstrating measuring with the pichi duke slid the tip of her first finger into the position of her thumb, moved the thumb forward to another complete handstretch, and repeated this as often as she needed to. Another woman did the reverse—she slid her thumb into the position of her finger.

Wima are used in measuring lengths, such as those needed in building a ruka or a puma trap, or in measuring land. An occasional woman uses it in measuring choapino. "I know the length of my wima because I measured it against a meter measuring stick that a Chilean had." As many wima as are needed for a length of anything are measured off on a strand of yarn, which then serves as a measuring tape. Although, in general, clothing is fitted to the wearer—a poncho, for example, must reach from side of neck straight across the shoulder and down the arm to the knuckles of the hand and be long enough to touch the knees—the weaver, for convenience sake, may take the measurements on strands of yarn also.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Chile

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Informants and interpreters: 1, A Coñaripe family. (Note outdoor fireplace.) 2, Sister Gerena, an interpreter, and an Alepúe informant. 3, Francisca Frauendorf, an interpreter (left), and Margaret Mondloch, field assistant (right). Young woman in center winnowing wheat. (Coñaripe.)

[p 92(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

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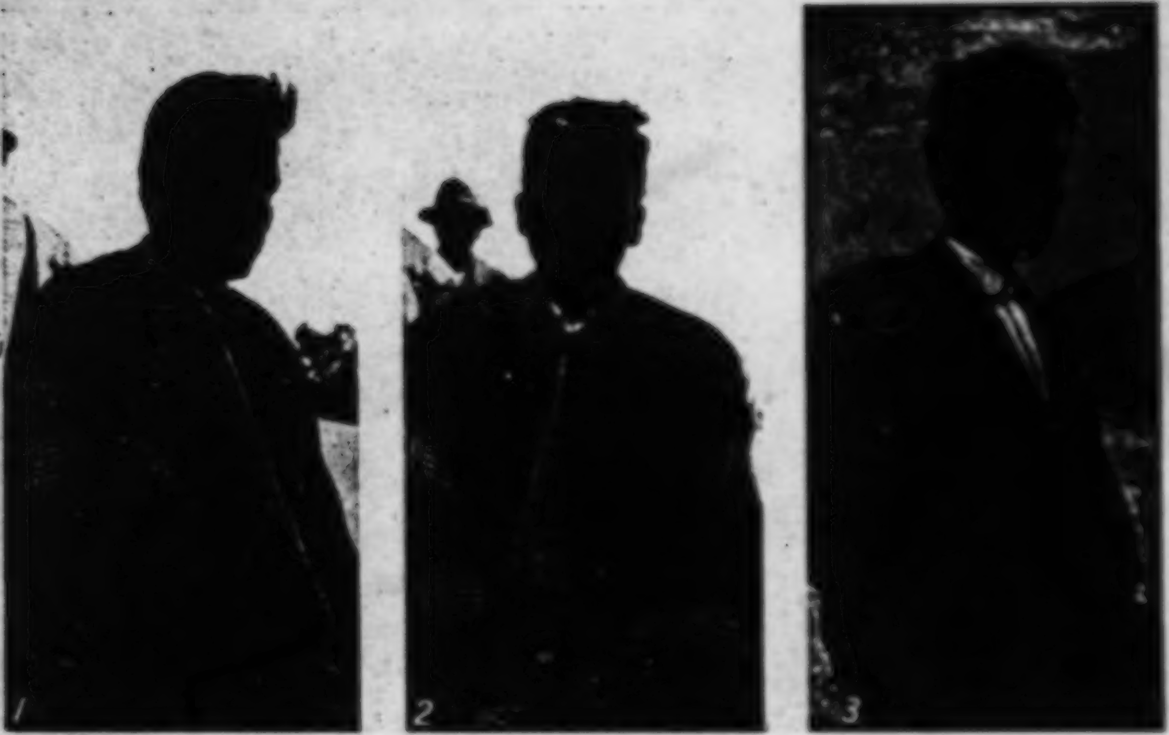
Chilean Araucanians: 1, A Coñaripe family. 2, 3, Alepúe men and women who welcomed the writer and her field assistant to the Araucanian country.

[p. 92(5)]

[p92(c)]



Young men informants: 1, 2, Coñaripe man, side and front views. 3, Alepue man.

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[p. 12(b)]

Cabarga informants: 1, Sixteen-year-old boy. 2, 3, Two views of one of chief informants.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[p. 92(E)]

Coñaripe informants: 1, 2, Two views of one of chief informants, and 3, his daughter.

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Informants: 1, Domingo Huenun, chief informant of Panguipulli. 2, Coñaripe man, more than 100 years old. (Note the ojotas, native footwear.) 3, One of Alepúe's finest young men.

[p. 92(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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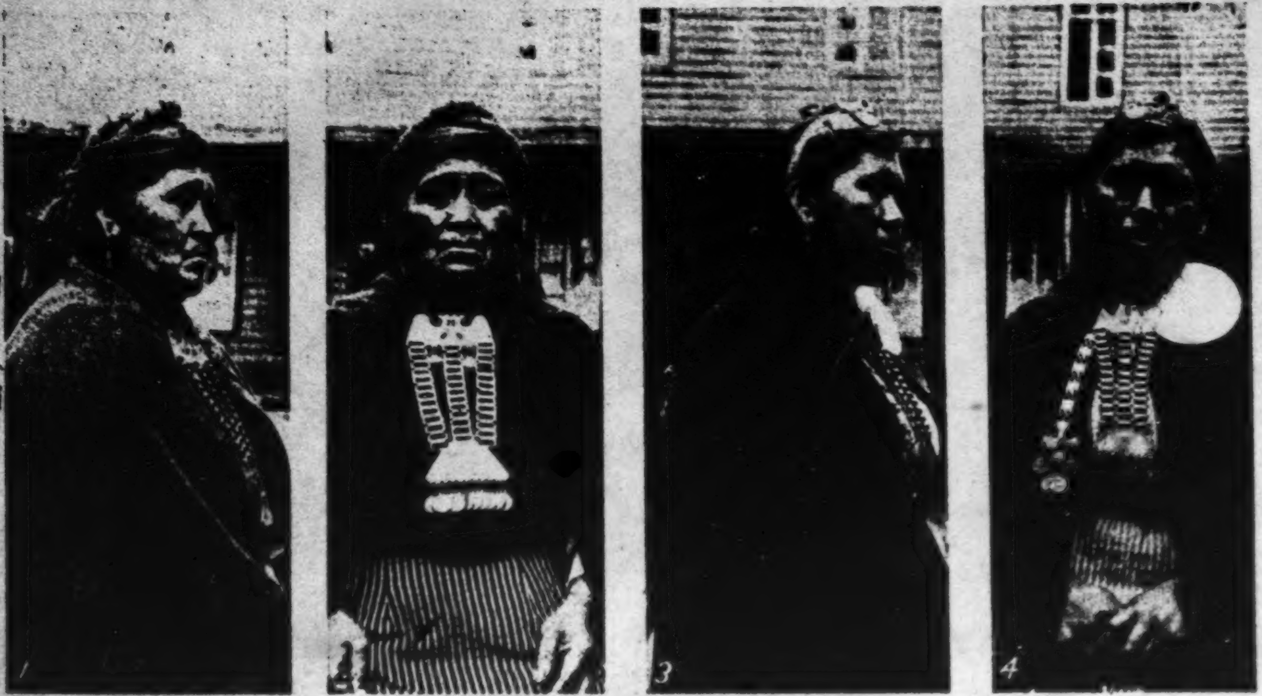
[p. 92(G)]



Panguipulli women in fiesta attire: 1, 2, Two views of Domingo Huenun's wife, and 3, 4, his daughter.

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

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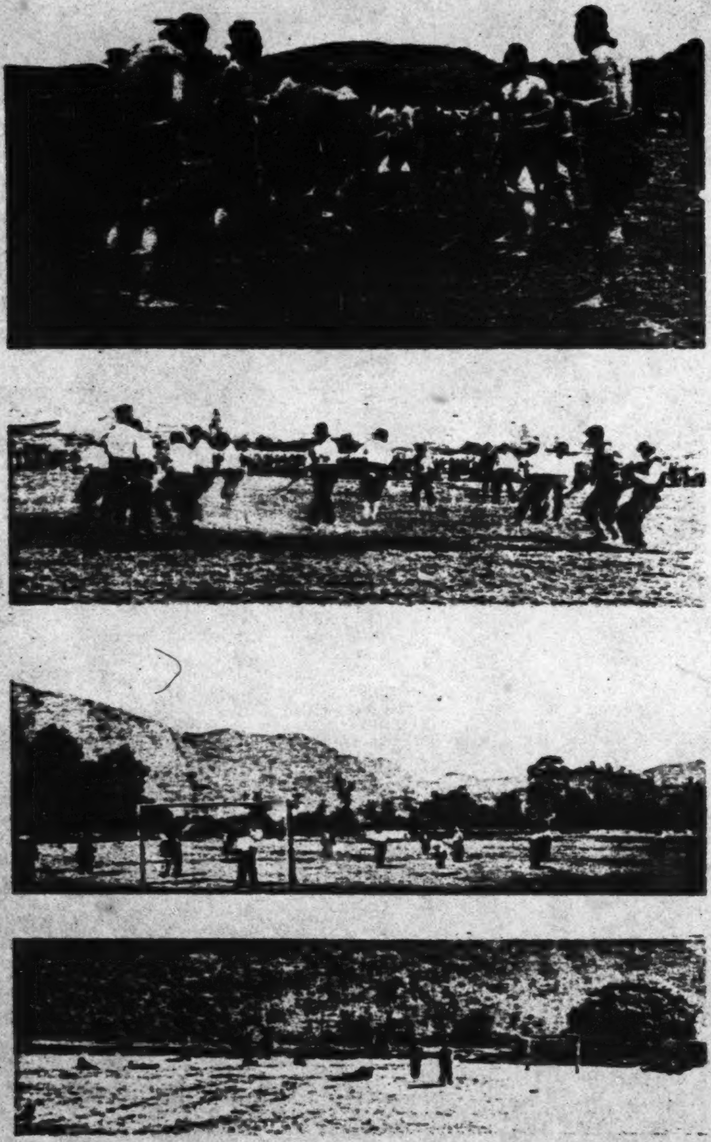

Competitive games of adults: 1, 2. The competitive game of chueca being played in the Province of Cautín. (Pictures were purchased in Temuco.) 3. Coñaripe men practicing futbal. 4. A rest period during the game.

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Older women: 1, A machi (Alepúe). 2, Woman bathing and washing her hair in the running water of the Río Llanquihue (Coñaripe).

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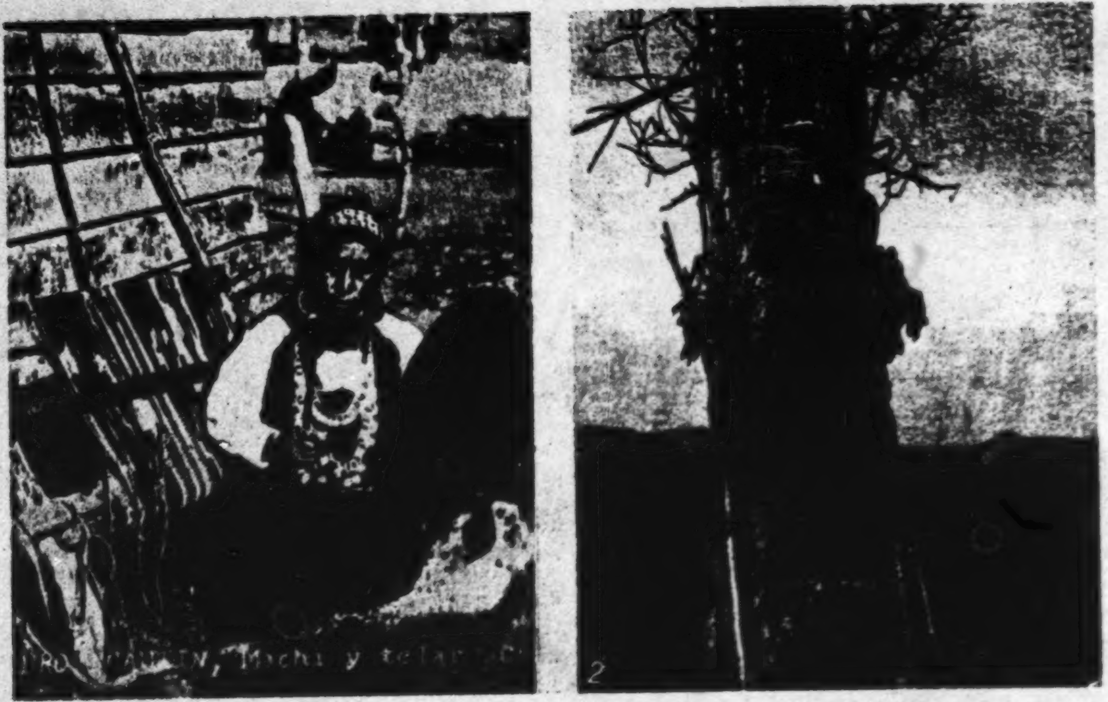
PRO. CAUTIN, Machi y telar
2

1, The machi, Province of Cautin, beating her kultrun. (Note the loom.) 2, A machi rewe.
(Pictures purchased in Temuco.)

[p. 92(J)]

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Eye measurements (approximate) are used in selecting a tree from which oxcart wheels are to be made. "Any man who knows how to make a wheel knows that the tree minus the bark must make wheels large enough to keep the oxcart from hitting high spots in oxcart trails." An informant indicated by eye, on a table, the length and width of a bird trap. Two Alepúe men prepared bundles of cochayuyo for the market. Cochayuyo is an edible alga collected in shallow water on the shores of the Pacific. The length of each bundle (approximately 18 inches) was measured by eye; the thickness included what a man could hold between both hands when tips of thumbs and fingers met.

Chilean linear measurements now in use, "because we have to deal with Chileans," are the pulgada, measured by distance from tip of thumb to first knuckle (approximately an inch); the vara (approximately 34 inches); the meter (39.37 inches); and the darea (approximately 42 by 47 feet).

The diameter of logs sold to lumber camps is measured in pulgadas and paid for on this basis. Fences are erected and paid for on the basis of vara. "To make certain that I shall always know where I can find the length of a vara, I measured one off on the singletree of my oxcart." Something I noticed other men had also done. I saw one man lay a stick on the singletree of his oxcart where he had marked off a vara, mark the stick and use it in measuring a fence. Vara were also marked off on ax handles.

The meter serves as a basis for linear and surface measurements in many instances when dealing with Chileans. Orders for woven throws and choapino and blankets to be sold in Chilean markets are given in meters. "But I do not always have a meter measure handy; I know that my wima is nearly a meter and I use it. Men usually know how many of their duke make a meter, and they then measure off in so many duke. My husband knows a meter is four of his füchi duke." A Chilean present at an interview remarked, "I know that from the earth to my belt, when I stand erect, measures a meter; but five of my complete hand stretches is also a meter." "Yes, five füchi duke," agreed an Araucanian. A darea, according to informants, is a measure used only at harvest time. "It is used in connection with a field of grain; it covers as much land as a man, who works conscientiously all day, can cut with a sickle. We never spoke of darea until the Spanish came here."

Quantity measures were pinches of various amounts and both single and joined handfuls. These were generally used in measuring herbs. Another measure was a cuplike implement made by cutting off the

804 bead end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as " a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversation were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because 648 of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

527 In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. Acording to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739).

517 Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another.

538 Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow.

539 As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian:

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was compatriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The skunk then said, "Let us dart eight little sticks like we dart arrows. [These are darted toward a goal.] If you win, then I will take your poncho and let you have mine." The skunk won. But the fox who had forcibly taken the skunk's poncho by now threw it into the fire where it burned up. Then the skunk sat down and cried, and said, "My mother will spank me." Then three very young children came walking along and said to the skunk, "Don't cry; before long you will find a better poncho than you had." But that was not all: The fox then ordered one of the children to split wood, another to build the fire, and the third to put the olla on the fireplace. After the water boiled, the fox took the three children and put them into the olla. As soon as they were cooked, he ate them.

One of "the other kind" as told to a 14-year-old boy by his 80-year-old grandmother:

It was in ancient times. There was a very rich man who had many animals in his meadow—he was so rich that he could not count his animals. This rich man had two dogs. He thought of these dogs as his two sons: they understood all that they were told and they carried out his orders. These two dogs were accustomed to being sent to the meadows to bring home animals that were to be slaughtered. When the rich man was no longer satisfied to eat jerked meat, he sent his dogs to the meadows to fetch animals.

The following nonhistorical tale was told to a 12-year-old boy by his 34-year-old uncle; the uncle's grandfather had told it as having happened when he (the grandfather) was a child:

A puma had four cubs, and lay in her den with them. While lying there she heard some cries and whining. It was dogs she was hearing. The dogs were coming nearer the den. The cubs ran out and away. The puma, too, leaped out of the den and over a bush of quila. But the dogs chased her. Then the puma climbed up a tree and the cubs followed her. The owner of the dog came and cut down the tree. The dogs killed the puma and ate the little ones.

The two following stories, told by Coñaripe men (33 and 34 years of age) are true historic events, so the informants said. Said one:

My grandparents told me that old Mapuche said that from very early times one could enter caves at one end of Lake Calafquén near here, walk underneath the lake, its full length, and then under the complete length of Lake Pellaifa and come out at the other end of Lake Pellaifa; that our people formerly hid under these lakes when their enemies came upon them—like they formerly did from what is now Argentina; they say that the entrance to the cave under Lake Pellaifa can still be seen.

The other informant then took his turn:

There was an old lazy Mapuche man, but a very intelligent one. He lived off the rest of the people. One day he saw many Mapuche coming up the path. He hurried to the river nearby and stuck a sapling into the river bottom, a little distance from the bank. When the people came, he said, "A flood is coming!" The people moved on. When they had moved on a bit, he, behind their backs, moved the sapling farther from the bank toward the middle of the river, and again called, "Yes, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a gillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the gillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the gillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women— 517 never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100- 276 year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked.

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by [272] those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of llapené (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him.

MUSIC, DANCING, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the 534 pifilka (whistle) (pl. 32, *1-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultrung (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kullkull and the kaphul (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifilka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifilka, trutruka, and kultrung are used at the gillatun; the kultrung and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a kashkawy rattle, a flute made of Chusquea sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study.

534 A very old pifalka owned by an informant (pl. 32, e) was of stone (today pifalka are often made of wood). It was approximately 4 inches long, 2 inches wide, and ½ inch thick and had one hole as a ventage. Through a perforation on each side, which the informant called ears, a cord was passed so that the pifalka could be suspended from the neck. Following the old custom, she noted, the cord should be made of the bark of either pelú, maqui, or totora. The bark is warmed over a fire, rubbed between the palms of the hands until soft, then boiled in water, cooled until lukewarm, and then pulled apart into strands. The following day the strands are rolled between the hands to the length needed by the person who is to use the pifalka. "It must be long enough to reach around the person's neck and part way down the chest." Today, more often a colored ribbon is used in place of the bark cord. A pifalka is sounded by holding it with ventage at the top, and blowing across the ventage, as one does in playing a flute.

An informant had made a trutruka by splitting lengthwise a stock of green quila, approximately 8 feet long, removing the pith, then tying two parts back into position with fiocha and pulling over them the dried intestine of a horse. At the farther end he inserted and fastened securely a portion of the horn of an ox. "Without it there is no tone," he remarked. The other end, the one used for blowing, he cut off on a 1½-inch slant. When not in use, the trutruka is filled with water to keep it from shrinking. Two trutruka, collected in the Province of Cautin (Nos. 115 and 116, Museo Araucano de Temuco), are of split colihüe bound together with vine and then overstripped with animal intestine. Each is an inch in diameter and approximately 9 feet long. A 6-inch section of the horn of an ox is attached at the farther end of each.

No kultrun was seen in the field. Specimen No. 572 in the Museo Araucano de Temuco, collected in Panguipulli and labeled "very old specimen," had been made by stretching the inner lining of a hide over a bowl of wood. It is 5 inches in depth, 13 inches in diameter at the opening and 8½ inches at the bottom. Another specimen (No. 438—according to the curator, a recent collection)—contains some articles which make of it a rattle, also. Its depth is 6 inches, diameter at hide end 18 inches and at the bottom 6 inches. Its 18-inch-long drumstick has one end wrapped about with red, white, and purple yarn.

The wada is a dried, hollowed-out gourd, "big enough to fit into a big hand," into which either seeds of coral or pebbles are put, and the gourd then covered with the inner hide of sheepskin.

The kupkul and kullkull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 90-91). 534
Félix José defines the kupkul as he does kullkull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1916, vol. 1, pp. 97, 99), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several kupkul (pl. 12, 1) that what they had made were kupkul and not kullkull; the kullkull were made of cow's horn, and kupkul of chupón, they declared. A boy, in making a kupkul, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chupón. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of ñocha. The point of the first blade was then gotten hold of with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones.

No panpipes were seen in the field. But two of stone, each with four ventages, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 715 and 739). They are, respectively, 1½ inches long and 2 inches wide, and 2¾ inches long and 2½ inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational purposes only. A young Alepúe man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alepúe man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the cheuka to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Encores were spontaneous, and handclapping prolonged playing for hours. 534 177

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueca, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—cheuka ([illegible]) (pl. 17, 3 and 4). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the polka, the corrido, the waltz, and the mazurka. These are spoken of by Araucanians as dances; the cheuka, as baile. Old informants recognized the word "baile" as a Spanish word, but noted that their people must have been dancing the cheuka for a long period of time, since the word "baile" seemed like an Araucanian word to them. 535

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536 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as purun. They are danced at the ngillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word purun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the ngillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as purun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the gino, the corrido, the waltz (pl. 17, c and d), and the cueca, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the purun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and cattle horns in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

533 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so
539 when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Forsaken has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Forsaken has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting
[277] at the girl's home (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

16: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
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GAMES

During recesses at school and at home children engaged in group playing. Small boys and girls together played a game of tag they call chuchi (colored thread). The "it" tags a child and calls "chuchi." Then the chuchi is "it." Older girls played tag, also, designating a tree as a goal of safety—anyone touching the tree could not be tagged. [illegible]

Girls 14 to 18 years of age tossed from one to the other (anticlockwise) while sitting on the lawn, a handkerchief into which several knots had been tied. Other girls of the same age were often seen sitting in groups in the sun, chatting.

The favorite pastime of boys 11 to 15 years of age was spinning tops (pl. 18, c and f). Every boy owned a top and the cord with which he spun it—in all probability he had made both. A 12-year-old boy demonstrated the making of a top (pls. 19-23). He whittled with a knife, then chopped down all sides of a 2½-inch cube of lumu in line with the grain. "I like lumu best," he remarked, "because it is hard wood." All cutting was done away from the body. When the cube showed the shape of a top, he filed it down on a steel file which he supported between his chest and some wires on a post. This done, he inspected the surface for places that would give the top imbalance and then filed them down. He hammered a shingle nail into the point of the tip and filed off its head to a dull point. He now wound a cord (anticlockwise) about the surface of the top, from the point upward, released the top, and it spun. "Bueno! Bueno!" all boys, nonparticipant observers in the making of the top, called out. Smaller boys had watched intently every step in the making, and had been helpful in handing implements needed. It took 45 minutes to make the top. The same boy demonstrated the making of a cord (pl. 18, c). He and a schoolmate each held the end of a cord taut between them as they stood some distance apart. They then twisted the cord, each one in the opposite direction from the other. When sufficiently twisted, ends were brought together and the cord allowed to twist itself. Cords released when flour sacks are ripped were favored by boys for making top cords. No boy had used plant fibers in making cords. "One does not use fiber, if you can help it; it is too coarse and rough." [illegible]

When playing with tops a boy may spin his on the ground, or he may slide his hand under it while it spins and let it continue to spin in the palm of his hand. One top, after spinning 15 seconds on the ground, spun another 30 seconds in the hand. Other boys play a competitive game, the goal being to see whose top will spin longest. Seven boys competed one day; the winning top spun 50 seconds.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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524 Another competitive game played with tops is called *juego al gallo* (play of the rooster). Four boys, 11 and 12 years of age, paired up to oppose each other in playing it. They drew three parallel lines two meters apart. On the middle line they placed a peso. Each boy now took turns, sides alternating. The player spun his top, slid his hand under it, and dashed the top still spinning, onto the peso. If the top sent the peso onto or beyond either of the other lines, a point was scored for his side. If the peso got beyond either of these two lines, it was brought back by hand to the nearest line. The next boy in dashing his top onto the peso had to send the peso to or across the middle line. Always the peso had to be sent two meters distance in order to count. No definite number of successes completed a game. After playing 15 minutes, one side had four counts and the other, three.

Boys 11 to 15 years of age also play a competitive game with marbles, called *jugar de los hoyitos* (to play at little holes). Two or four boys play the game. Each boy has one marble. Most marbles used by boys I observed were made of clay found in the area—"my mother let me have the clay she had left after she made ollas"; several boys used perfectly round stones for which they had searched the beach of the Pacific; a few boys had a factory-made marble. The objective of the game is to land the marble in the farthest of three holes, made in a row, 1½ meters apart, by a boy rotating on his heel. Each boy in turn shot his marble by hand. Once the marble landed in the farthest hole, the player could return by landing his marble in the middle hole and then the hole nearest the starting point. A player was permitted to shoot another player's marble away from a hole provided his marble landed within a handstretch of the competitive player's marble. The boy who returned his marble to the starting point first won the game.

524 Alepúe schoolboys 9 and 10 years old played the competitive Chilean game of futbol as best they could. Five boys opposed six. The goal of each team was a line between a sapling in the school yard and a 3-yard-long stick planted by the boys. Their ball was made of cochayuyo, a Pacific Ocean alga. Whenever the umpire announced that a ball had passed the goal, there was much clapping of hands by the winning side. It was a signal, too, for all boys to drop on the grass to relax.

524 Until recently, boys in Alepúe area played a competitive game with quelis known as rol huedu; today, it is generally played only by young men and older ones, and is played for stakes. A non-Araucanian teacher explained: "When I came here, 10 years ago, quelis were

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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hammered out of rock; even schoolchildren made them and small boys 524 also played the game. Today when only metal quoits are used small boys find it tiring to play very long; these metal quoits are heavy." Two, three, or four play a game. Two young men, 22 and 26 years of age, were seen playing it as a pastime on a Sunday afternoon. The goal was a line, about a meter in length, drawn in the sand with a little stick. So that it could be seen at a distance, the stick was planted in the middle of the line. About 50 meters from the goal, the players drew another line—this was the base. Each player had two trapizoidal-shaped metal quoits, approximately 2 inches in diameter at the bottom, 1½ inches at the top, and ½ inch in thickness. Each player's two quoits had identical numerals engraved in them so as to be easily identified by the owner. One player took his position at the base; the other at the goal, but merely as an interested observer—he could have stood anywhere. The one at the base pitched his quoits toward the goal, one at a time, and then he and the other player exchanged positions. The second player now pitched his two quoits toward the goal, and immediately went to see where they had landed. Scores were now counted. A quoit that touched the goal scored two points—a player could, therefore, have scored four points. Since the two men were opponents, the lower score was subtracted from the higher, and the difference recorded to the credit of the winner. Quite evidently, then, if no quoit touched the goal, there was no score to record; if all four quoits touched the line, scores canceled each other, and again there was no score to record. Whoever scored the largest number at the end of the game had won. Playing might have ended at any time. Scores on this Sunday afternoon were marked in the ground nearby by an onlooker, a young boy.

During an interview in a ruka, a 5-year-old boy played with metal quoits smaller than the above. He cleared a little space for himself by shoving aside all objects, carried a low bench to one end of the space, sat on it, and then threw the quoits toward his goal at the other end of the space.

A football game, noncompetitive and nonscoring, called pilota de 526 cochayuyo, is a favorite sport of schoolchildren in Alepúe area. A ball of cochayuyo has to be kept in action by being kicked. When the ball is kicked, everyone runs to where it is expected to land, so as to be the one to give it the next kick. Older schoolboys play it togther, and so do older girls; sometimes older girls and smaller boys together play it. At a fiesta young men were seen playing it. It was not unusual to see schoolboys squatted on their haunches before the opening of school in the morning, weaving for themselves a ball of cochayuyo.

526 Those who lived near the Pacific brought several cochayuyo, enough for friends, also. A 12-year-old boy, not receiving any from any boy, before school opened ran to the Pacific—a distance of 20 minutes on horseback, which he made in 22 minutes on foot. He brought a supply, shared it with others, and then sat busily making a ball (pls. 18, 19); he finished it at recess time. "Nobody taught me how to make it," he said; "I have watched others make them ever since I was small." Walking along the shores of the Pacific with some boys one day, several picked up cochayuyo that the outgoing tide had left behind and made balls while we were walking. The base of the ball is made by means of loops and sling knots; the remainder, by a tight over-under weave.

Cooper's sources name types of play common among children as wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide-and-seek, walking on stilts, guessing game, and two games suggesting European influence resembling our jacks and blindman's buff (1946, pp. 740-741).

Adults still play the traditional competive hockey game of palin or palitun (chueca, in Spanish) played with hocky sticks (weno) and balls (pali) (pl. 28, *1* and *2*). Balls in the Museo Araucano de Temuco were from 1½ to 2 inches in diameter and were whittled out of wood. Two organized teams of eight men each, usually young men, oppose each other. A team from Pullingue played against one from Cariñingue in Coñaripe area on November 1, 1946. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 739) men, women, and children formerly played palin in organized, opposing teams of 10 to 15 players; the game was by far the most important sport. Playing, Cooper writes, was done "to the music of flutes and drums before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. Various magicoreligious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e.g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game."

The competitive Chilean game of futbal is being played today, rather than the traditional game of palin; it was being played by young men in all areas I visited. (Pl. 28, *3* and *4*.) Two teams of eleven players each oppose each other, and there is an umpire. Sometimes Araucanians play against Chileans; more often they play against Araucanians from another area.

525 Occasionally men—never women—play a game of chance known as el chupe. Two men were seen playing it while waiting for the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. 525 Generally, 10 or more coins are used. One man shook his four coins in the hollow of his joined hands, and asked his opponent, "Caro o sello" (face or seal)? (The face of Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean hero, is on one side of the coin; the words "veinte centavos" on the other.) His opponent answered, "Caro," whereupon the man threw the coins into the air. As soon as they landed on the ground, both men pointed at the ones that had turned up caro, and the opponent picked them up. He now shook his four coins. They did this alternately for some time. Other men who in the meantime had arrived for the meeting became nonparticipant observers.

Two games of chance, according to Cooper's source, were the bean game (llique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, and kechu, played with 5-faced triangular dice of wood or bone (1946, p. 940).

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

Most Araucanian children had few toys, if any, in the early days; 524 only a few have them today. A child that is able to walk plays with 857 sticks and stones that lie around; sometimes with chicks and kittens. Toddlers were seen making piles of little stones. "When I was a little boy," said a 45-year-old man, "an older person carved a pair of oxen and a little oxcart out of wood for us to play with; very few children had any toys at all. I have eight children: none has had a toy." In the yard of a ruka I observed a little boy and his two little sisters playing with a miniature oxcart made by an older brother (pl. 10, *1*).

Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child's life, and only rarely does a little girl have one today. A 40-year-old woman had had a rag doll when a little girl; her mother had made it "out of a piece of cloth; it had only a head; the rest of the cloth hung down. Some Mapuche girls today have the same kind of doll." A few schoolgirls had a doll or had had one when small; one had been cut out of cardboard, two had been rag dolls, and four had been bought in a store. One girl had molded clay into a figurine, "like a little doll"; her sister had molded a flower. "Mama had clay left after making ollas."

Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They molded marbles of clay, wove balls of cochayuyo, and whittled tops out of wood. A 15-year-old boy made himself a bull roarer (runrun) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

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rock, examined it to make certain that the edge was round, pounded two holes close to the center but a little apart making it look like a two-holed button. Then he ran a cord through each hole, shoved the cap to the middle, held both ends of the cord and swung the cap in circles with one hand, pulled the string taut, released it, and the cap buzzed.

A child learned to make playthings by observing older children doing so. When a boy wove a ball of cochayuyo, smaller boys sat around him concentrating on what he was doing; when an older boy whittled a top, they got close enough to see, even lying on their stomachs in order to see better each step in the making.

Imitating elders in various activities is one of the playtime occupations of children. Playing at riding horseback is a favorite pastime for small children. In the yard of one ruka, a 5-year-old boy and his 2-year-old brother straddled a young slender branch, which represented the horse. The older boy had stripped it of all leaves and little twigs. "This is a white horse," he said. They paced about the yard for a little while, then the older boy switched back of himself with a stick as does a rider on a horse. Both boys now galloped. With every switching the "horse" received, the two jolted along faster. Soon they slowed up, paced a little, suddenly twirled around a few times, and then paced about the yard again. Their 19-year-old sister remarked, "My older sister and I played riding horseback just like that, when we were little." Later the older boy rode a heavier stick alone: he paced, galloped, and twirled as before. Another frequent pastime is for an older child to be the "horse" for a younger brother or sister—the younger one straddling the back of the older one who is on hands and feet. Children were also seen playing at lassoing, one being the man and the other the horse.

A teacher told of preadolescent boys playing getting drunk, becoming intoxicated, and then having a fist fight. "This is exactly what they see the men do at every fiesta, at threshing time, and when a ruka is built," the teacher remarked. "They played this in my kitchen on a rainy day last week."

Playing house is a common pastime for preadolescent girls. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "From my window I often observe schoolgirls playing house—there are fathers and mothers and children. Visitors come, riding other children as horses. Clover leaves are served as meals, and water, supposedly yerba maté, is drunk from seashells. Sometimes I am invited and I drink their water and eat their clover." A Boroa herbalist said: "I have never seen a Mapuche child play with a doll or a toy of any kind, but I have often seen little

524 857 brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them.

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

231 857 In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hstch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten."

824 857 Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey

824 857 hens, pigs, parrots, and doves, and also several species of birds found in the area, namely, hummingbirds, robins, bandurria, zorzal, tordo, diuca, pitiu, and the tregle. The children knew that the turkey hen tells the little turkeys to hide in the bush or somewhere else when she sees a hawk flying her way, and also that the turkey hen talks when a dog comes around. "The tregle," said a little girl, "is a bird that talks at night. If someone of a family comes home after dark, the tregle announces his coming. Those that hear the tregle will say, 'He is coming home now.' The tregle does not stay where people are, but some Mapuche make him stay in the garden to eat worms and insects; they cut off the tips of the feathers of one of his wings so that he cannot fly away, but this is cruel." To which a little boy added: "The tregle talks before one sees him. See there on the little stones [on a river's edge] you can see his eggs. See how he walks around in the water, and talks and talks and pretends he is looking for fish—he does not want us to see his eggs; we call him trequell."

Quoting other children: "Parrots talk much but cannot be saying anything important, for they are stealing the wheat that has just been planted!" "The bandurria talks very loud while he is flying—you can hear him best in the afternoon when he and his partners fly to the lake to take a drink." "The zorzal digs in the earth for worms and catches bugs from the air, and never says a word then; but when he gets into the strawberry patch, he talks and talks; we call him wilki." "The pitiu sits on fences and talks in a high pitch, and only once. He usually calls his own name."

The writer was taught by schoolchildren how to identify other birds: The tordo (thrush) calls karew, an Araucanian word; it is black and has a long bill. A loica (robin) has a very red breast. The picaflor (hummingbird) is a tiny bird with a long bill; it takes nectar from flowers. The diuca has gray-blue feathers. The perdiz grande (partridge) runs around in fields; it has a very small tail. The choroy (parrot), the one that infests wheat fields and gardens, is green. The bandurria—the Chileans call it raki—has a metallic cry; its cry is called traktrakün.

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING, SHOOTING

526 Boys who live near lakes or deep rivers learn to swim in early childhood. Swimming in the Pacific, in general, is forbidden by parents because of the danger of drowning. Good swimmers, both boys and men, pride themselves on their ability. Girls and women do not swim. According to Cooper's sources the Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers (1946, p. 729).

Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at 526
the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, *2*.) Boys
teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, 492
or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old [868]
boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast.

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to hurdle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "Those foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 12 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an 526
aim; usually the target was a blemish on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one famliy in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots.

HEALTH

OMENS OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists— 787
is the cry of the choñchoñ, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by

787 many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Queule a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a choñchoñ flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

753 754 All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the choñchoñ. One instance was related in which the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our home, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating 10 pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Panguipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 50 years in the area told that along the beach of Panguipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 278

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bambillo apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indigenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*) who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly different in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of 201 the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and "no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him. If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to watch a machi in action."

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

> In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

human beings. However, when walking, they did not touch the ground, but flew like birds. They said that they were sent by chau to say to me, "Carry out the ancient rites and cause gillatun to be convoked; he who forgets me shall be unhappy on earth and will not enter into my kingdom." Then they said to me, "You will have to suffer a mental disturbance for four days, so that you can learn to know the blessed land of heaven." After this I saw four old men who wore rainbow-colored clothes. They clothed me in the same colors and adorned me with leaves of canelo. Then they led me to the four cardinal points of the earth, that is to the east, the north, the west, and the south. In the south I saw an old woman sitting down. She asked me with astonishment what I was doing on their earth. Those who accompanied me answered that chau had chosen me to adore him, that I would give continuity to the ancient rites. Then the four men and I returned by the way of the four cardinal points. My food was copihue flowers. The men selected for me the name of Ayón-kahnell, and as a banner, the flag of Chile. They told me to always use the banner when celebrating the rite. They told me that I must love my neighbor and cure him of his illness; and cure him, also, of evil that befalls him, because human beings are full of curable afflictions, which are the work of the devil, something which chau does not wish to be so. "For these cures," they said, "you must take the herbs of the land and give these to men to drink; chau has blessed these herbs; do not have any doubt in their efficacy." They then took leave of me, and I returned to my earth where I woke up.

Individuals sometime resent these compulsive dreams. "They may be incapacitated for two or three or more days after such a dream." The woman machi in Alepúe was said to have been sick two years. A 21-year-old man in Maiquillahue (Alepúe area) had had such a dream shortly before I arrived. "He does not want to be a machi," schoolchildren said. The mother of one of the schoolchildren volunteered, "But the spirit that told him to be one haunts and haunts him: sometimes the spirit throws him down and the young man is like dead. The spirit really makes him suffer. A few times the man has been sick near death. I hear he is now taking instructions from a machi." The interpreter had heard that the instructing machi had been at the man's home for some celebration and that shortly after that the man's brother had died; that it was now being said that the machi had caused his death. "That man's family," she added, "has become poor. Everything they own is being gradually converted into money. The machi insists in being paid in money for her instructions; recently they sold their cattle to do so."

Once a person has decided to be a machi he presents himself as a candidate to a practicing machi, usually an older one with much experience. Parents who notice unusual intelligence in one of their children may advise and urge it to become a machi, and finally place it with a machi to be instructed and trained.

Generally an adult candidate must spend two to three years with

756 the machi, learning from him shamanistic skills, knowledge of the curative properties of plants, and other health restorative measures. Three nights preceding the inception of these formal instructions, the machi and candidate meet in secret sessions; this is the period of initiation. At dawn after the third night the machi gives the candidate his name and then all relatives of the candidate are invited to the initiation ceremony in conjunction with which a festive meal is served. Not all relatives join in the feast, however, because always it happens that one of those who attends or assists must die; this keeps some away. The candidate's father and brothers help to supply food and drink, including mudai. It is during this initiation ceremony that the rewe (pl. 30, *2*) is used. No rewe was seen in the field; some old informants had not seen one in their lifetime. One in the Casa de Araucanía in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago consists of five steps and a top platform. At the end of the years of instructions, "the new machi is given to the people." The most recently trained one in Panguipulli area had been presented to the people in 1936; she was then in her early twenties and had studied under a machi since her early childhood. "They slaughtered an animal and gave a feast. Over the new machi they raised a bow festooned with flowers and all around her were baskets of flowers."

A list of shamanistic skills or powers (pūllə) was written down by an old Panguipulli man. He explained the first on his list, that is, licure üiyəm foro, to mean inflamed bone. "When using it," he continued, "the machi begs to find the location of sickness in a bone or tooth, or who knows what," and then added rather impatiently that the machi speaks to his invisible power in each pūllə to get information regarding the sickness which he is curing, and "this is enough about the pūllə of the machi; let us go on to something else!" He pushed his list toward the writer and sat by, mute. Additional names he had written down, the meanings of which he was not willing to give, were neculpillan, yiuallmawida, licure malloldo, picumdo llaŋcacuralŋe, kulilpillañ, pillañdomo, pillañ wentru and kallfūpəllomeñ, antūwapinda, ñuikonmei üllcha, ñuikonmei weche, ñūmaillawen. (The last 10 are also found in Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, pp. 9, 64, 75, 98, 159, 181.)

It is believed that each machi can obtain or develop new skills from some invisible source in addition to those learned during the years of instructions. It is known that skills are enhanced by exchange of information between machi. "My mother-in-law told me that years ago 10 machi women met every year at a stream near Queule to exchange knowledge each had regarding herbs. Each beat her kultruŋ;

one could hear the din of them at a distance. Everyone knew then they were meeting." The exchange of information, however, is usually done during an annual renewal of powers (traue) which takes place in the fall of the year. The informant then went on to tell of such a renewal. 756

> Always in April the machi here (Coñaripe area) renew their powers; it is when the copihues are in full bloom that it is done. Children are not allowed to witness a traue. My father will not allow us (adults) to witness one, but I saw one once when I was about 12 years old—a boy and I sneaked away to see one. I do not recall that the machi exchanged knowledge, but they did renew their powers. There were two machi there. Two non-machi men represented evil spirits, like devils, and had faces masked, except for the space over the eyes which was covered with red paper. The head and chest of the two machi were decorated with copihues. One of the machi feigned sickness and lay down between two canelo trees. These trees were decorated with copihues and coral. Invited persons had decorated them. The machi who feigned sickness was stripped of his clothes; the other sat by and did nothing. Then the sitting machi and the two masked men took a plant, peeled off the bark, and rubbed the bark between their hands until foam appeared. Everybody present put a little of the foam on the left corner of his mouth, while the machi and the two masked men rubbed the entire body of the machi who feigned sickness with it. After this, they drew a streak of blood lengthwise down the four limbs of the body of the sick machi. The blood was taken from a sheep slaughtered just then. Very close to the streak of blood they drew a streak of black, and near it a streak of white. Next to it, a streak of bare skin was left. This then made four stripes. These four stripes were repeated until the entire body was covered. Then the machi who feigned sickness feigned death, and the entire body was covered with a plant called yelwein. The machi stayed under this nearly an hour while the other machi beat the kultrun and shook the wada, and he and the two masked men sang songs and talked of evil spirits. When the sick machi came to, he looked skyward and prayed. The whole affair took two days. This is done once a year, as I told you, when the copihues are in full bloom. Everything that is used at such a renewal, like pelts and saplings, is hidden away in the mountains; it must not be left around, nor can the pelts be sold. This renewal keeps the machi's power replenished for the entire following year. Everyone invited brings a gift for each of the machi.

At the time of the present study machi were active in all areas. In Alepúe area, a 55-year-old man practiced in Mehuin; in Maiquillahue of the same area, a man 70 years old and a woman 45 years old; in Alepúe itself, a 70-year-old woman. In Panguipulli area, a woman in her thirties, a very old man, and a very old woman were active. In Coñaripe area, two old women practiced their art; in Boroa area, a woman past middle age.

THE MACHITUN: A TREATMENT OF THE SICK

The shamanistic skills and curative knowledge of the machi are 755 exercised in a performance known as the machitun. The machitun is

755 a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indicated; more rarely over children. [164] Several schoolchildren had had one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihüe stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalks of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultruŋ (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

755 778 (5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally, however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green beadlike one, called llepka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llepka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

755 (6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Panguipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see

you. If you lay yourself upon the roof of the house, I shall see you. Even should you ascend nearly to heaven, still I shall see you.' "

(8) A prolonged inquiry into the cause of the sickness and the condition of the patient.

(9) Yelling by all present. "All persons who attend the machitun walk around the ruka and cry out with all their might. This is done to chase the spirits of sickness away." It is not a palm-to-mouth cry. "It is just yelling loud!"

(10) Performing the purun (dance). "Everybody who has come to assist with his presence must dance."

(11) Rubbing the patient's body either with the plant or its extracted juice. The plant is heated over a fire until limp. Plants used are: Palqui; malva del monte; laurel común; padwe. "The machi used padwe in rubbing my brother; I saw it," said a 14-year-old schoolgirl who had collected a specimen. "Yes," added the 7-year-old brother, "I remember when the machi rubbed me with it." Quilmay; chilkon; chaura. "I saw my mother being rubbed down with chaura by a machi," said a 10-year-old girl. Ortiga menor; trafturaleb. "I saw the machi rub my mother with trafturaleb when she was sick," said a 12-year-old boy. "My mother looked at this [specimen] and said it was the same as that which the machi had used." Wautro. A 12-year-old boy who collected a specimen in an open space on hills noted, "I collected some of these plants for the machi in the same place last year [1945] when she treated my mother. The machi held the leaves close to the fire until they were soft, and then rubbed the sap on my mother. I saw her do this. I had forgotten what plant she had used, but my father told me yesterday. I showed him this one [specimen] and he said it is the correct one." Romerillo; quinawe; paico; lafkelao (not identified; found in very wet places, usually floating on water); tabaco del diablo.

(12) Oral medications. Of plants for oral medication palil was the only one known to informants. The juice of its stem was mixed with a small quantity of water to make the patient vomit.

(13) Paying the machi, sometimes in advance, the customary or requested payments of money and four-footed animals. Araucanian informants thought that a machi was well paid for his treatment of the sick. "The machi who treated the sick woman whom you saw yesterday demanded five pesos and several heads of cattle in payment—and her family is a poor family, something the machi knows." In such cases relatives and friends who attend a machitun often contribute money to help defray the expenses. "Chileans have said to me that the machi sends sickness to people so that he will be called to make the machitun for which he will then be well paid."

An occasional machi employs bloodletting. He makes a slight incision in the area of pain and lets blood flow. An occasional machi sucks the spirit of sickness out either through the skin of the area of pain or through a small abrasion made by him in the skin.

A Panguipulli woman in her thirties who had no faith in machi related the following:

My father, as a young man, was very curious. He went to attend a machitun. The machi, a woman, after sucking the sick person at the place of pain for a long time, drew from her mouth a long snake and put it into a pottery vessel. Then she asked, "Are there two brave young men present?" My father and another young man stepped forward. By this time she had tied a cover very securely over the opening of the vessel. She handed the vessel to the young men and told them to go to a place some distance from there, to build a fire there, and to burn the vessel with its contents. Under no conditions were they to look into that vessel; if they did so, the evil spirit of sickness would come out of it. The young men left with the vessel. When they were out of sight my father said, "Let us look in!" But the other man said, "Under no conditions will I look into that vessel"—he was very much afraid of it. Then my father hesitated, too. Instead of looking into it, my father dashed it against a stone and broke it. Both men ran away. After a short time they went back and examined everything carefully. They found the snake to be cochayuyo, a Pacific alga, so prepared as to look exactly like a snake's head at one end. Being wet with saliva, made it look gray like a snake. "It takes an intelligent, sly person to be a machi," my father has often said; "a stupid person could never be one." Another time, my father saw a machi going about in the woods stripping bark off trees; she was looking for larvae or worms. Many she discarded, but some she kept—probably unusual ones. Later, while treating a sick person, she produced these, pretending they were the result of her sucking. When I was still a child, my father told me and also his other children never to believe in the powers of the machi; that if we examined their performances, we would find them to be hoaxes. My father has reported to Chilean authorities the outrageous fee charged by the machi for their machitun. In consequence one machi was in prison until her fine was paid. If the machi had true power to injure another, this one would most certainly have injured my father. My father said no injury has ever been done to him.

The following is a complete account of a machitun as conducted in *Alepúe* area:

Somebody in a ruka is sick; a man leaves from there with two horses. When he arrives at the machi's place, he goes into the ruka immediately, takes a bench, and sits down very close to the machi. (This is contrary to the custom which requires an invitation to be seated.) The two shake hands in a friendly way. The man then looks the machi straight in the face and begins to talk to him; he begs him to come to perform a machitun over his sick relative. The machi looks directly at the man, too, listens for a little while, and then turns away from him—but he is still listening. The man continues to talk using all the friendly words he knows, coaxing the machi to come with him; he uses expressions like these, "You are the only man who can help my sick relative. You

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must come to help." After each flattery the machi again faces him and listens to him. Then the machi gets ready and goes with him. Each mounts one of the horses the man brought, and the two ride along in silence. They arrive at the ruka of the sick person. Before entering, they erect a pole somewhat to the side of the door—a pole considerably higher than the door; usually it is a sapling of some kind that is handy. At the upper end of the pole, a white cloth [the machi's banner] is tied. Then the machi enters the ruka and sits in a place prepared for him. Next, everyone present that has the ability to speak well takes turns to sit alongside the machi and begs him to do all he can to cure the sick person—each does so singly. Each person tells the machi that he believes that he (the machi) is the only one who can help this family in its grief. All must ask for this: the father and the mother, every brother, even though there are six or more, and all persons present, even if there be twenty. The machi does not turn away from them, but faces each one and listens attentively. He says to each one, "With chaw's (God's) help, we shall see what we can do." Then some person from outside the household, who speaks Mapuche well, acts as a liaison between the sick person and the machi. [The informant's brother had died during the previous year, 1947; since there was no nonrelative in attendance, the informant had acted as the liaison.] Above the head of the sick person, in line with the body, a symmetrically shaped top end of a canelo is planted; at the foot end, either laurel or maqui, depending on the choice of the machi. Along the full length of the patient are wooden dishes filled with a selection of twigs—the choice is again that of the performing machi. Always there is a variety; and always among them are twigs of several plants that have a very obnoxious odor and of one that grows in creeks. Persons present also hold armfuls of the twigs. All is now in readiness. The machi begins to beat his kultrun, and sings his first song. He sings four appropriate songs to four specific tunes at four different times. The wording of the songs is devilish; and no one but a machi is allowed to sing them. It is at this point that the machi goes into a trance. His entire body trembles; his face changes so that he no longer resembles himself, nor would he be known by others.—He looks like this until he goes out to the banner at the end of the machitun, when he again looks like himself.—From now on he knows nothing that happens until he returns to himself. It is for this reason that he needs the liaison: it is the duty of the liaison to take notice of all that happens and later to tell the machi about it. The machi now sings his second song and beats his kultrun, while he sits alongside the patient. At intervals, often during the ceremonies, he hops about the patient, first on his knees, then on his feet; and then he jumps onto hot coals in the fireplace—he is barefooted but does not burn his feet. Then he takes from the fireplace a burning stick of wood, like a small branch of a tree, and brandishes it in circles while walking around the outside of the ruka first and then around the ruka on the inside. After this he takes glowing coals from the fireplace and drops them on the ground wherever no one is standing. Some he drops onto the sheep pelts that cover the sick person. (The fur side is down, as always when a sheep pelt is used as covering.) Others stand by with brooms ready to sweep the hot coals off as soon as they are dropped on the pelts. Next, to intimidate the devil of sickness in the person, the machi takes a branch of canelo in one hand and a big knife in the other, and stands alongside the sick person. Then he takes his kultrun and sings a third song. In between the machi calls for certain specific twigs from those with armfuls of them, which these hand to him. And now

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755 comes the tense moment. The machi tells the people, through the [illegible], how serious the condition of the sick person is; he tells that the sickness began at such a time, that it is now at its height, or will be then, or then. He then indicates who caused the sickness. He mentions no names nor describes the person in any way, but he points with much emphasis in a direction and says, "That is the direction in which the one lives who is the cause of this sickness." Every one is alarmed. After that, the machi tells whether the patient will recover or not. Sometimes what he says comes true; sometimes not. This conversation has taken about a half hour. Now he takes his wada and shakes it while he kneels at the side of the sick person. The sick person strips himself, or if too sick, is stripped of all his clothes. Then the machi rubs the body from head to foot with twigs while he sings his fourth song. All this takes about an hour. And this is scandalous, especially if the machi is a man and the patient a woman, or vice versa. (I did not tell you this during yesterday's interview because I was ashamed of it as a practice of my people. But after I got home, I thought about it, and I decided that I should tell it. Once I saw a motion picture in which the Negroes of Africa knelt before their idol while a great thunderstorm was raging. I decided that since these people were willing to have their ways written up just as they are, and since the machitun is our way of doing, the truth should be told; and so now I have told it to you. But to continue:) The machi now rises from his knees and again talks to the [illegible] predicting that if the sick person has not improved in five—or maybe fewer—days, that he will not get well. Then he turns to all persons present and says to them that they must help him, so that the person will get well. After that he begins to return the pole with the banner until he comes out of his trance.—While in his trance, he is like a man who is intoxicated; he loses his faculties of mind and says and does things that he knows nothing about when he comes to; others must tell them to him. He drinks nothing intoxicating at any time.—He now walks into the ruka and sits down near the [illegible]—he is like an ordinary man now; just like the other people sitting there. Now the [illegible] must tell him all that he (the machi) said while he was possessed by the devil.—I know all this because I have been the [illegible] several times. If it were not for the sake of my relatives who ask this of me as a favor, I would never attend a machitun; the whole thing is repulsive to my nature.—After the machi has heard all that the [illegible] has to tell, he says, "It is all very well." Then the head of the house will say to the machi, "If the person recovers, we shall pay you." This will be whatever they had decided to give him, maybe 500 or 600 or more pesos. Very seldom does a machi specify the sum. This is true for all machi in the area [Alepue], except for one woman. If the patient does not recover, the machi is given only 50 pesos. This is to pay for his efforts, his time, and the distance he traveled. If the people have no money, they give him an animal. The machitun begins long before sunset, and lasts until nearly midnight. Some machi tell the people that assist by their presence to sleep then, but one in [illegible] will not let them sleep. If the people do sleep, they are awakened long before sunrise and the same ceremony is repeated; it usually ends after the sun is somewhat above the horizon. By the time it has ended a young calf has been slaughtered and meat and tortillas prepared. The machi and all those who helped are fed. Half of the calf, however, the machi takes with him and also at least ten, if not more, big-sized tortillas. Then everyone leaves for home. One man accompanies the machi; there is no ceremonial leavetaking by the machi. No conversation is carried on between

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the machi and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the machi is first summoned, as I told you before. 755

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by these are performed unceremonially. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners." 757

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and teas; in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had bronchitis for six years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant [illegible]. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cool as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That cured my bronchitis." In *Alepúe* a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen arms; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that." 755
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The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous. [illegible]

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a mother in a ruka preparing an 755

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755 herbal decoction in the customary way: she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of bark that were floating on water in a large tin kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the bark. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter noted that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

757 Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, barks, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be used the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fist of one hand is rotated over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of harder plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held near the fire until limp. Then the under layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

278 757 The following health restoratives were being used by Araucanian herbalists or by persons on the Coastal Range (Alepúe area). The Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Avellano. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its fruit is used as food.)

Boldo, found in grazing lands. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist used a decoction of it as a sedative. Chileans had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or itch will have soothing effects.

—— *[illegible],* collected close to brooks in moist places. Its juice is taken for stomach ache.

—— *[illegible],* found in pastureland. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Espuela, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

[illegible], found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after overeating. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Lingue. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delicate stomach.

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Malva del monte, grows along the edges of running water. "If a person who has taken sweats, so that his head is damp, and then stands in a draft, he will find that his ears close up, his eyes feel watery, and his head feels big. Well, then he should squeeze the juice from the roots of the malva del monte onto his neck and face, and tie up his head. He may have to apply fresh juice several times before his head feels better." 78 757

——— Ruda. The plant is heated, pounded, and put directly on a boil.

Palqui, found near creeks. Burns are washed with its leaves. The juice of its pounded stems and bark is taken orally for rash.

Pichi, collected on the beach of the Pacific Ocean. "It is used to produce vomiting, when a wrong thing has been eaten."

Pacolla, found in burnt-over woods. A decoction of its leaves is drunk for dysentery; a poultice of them is applied to swellings.

——— [illegible], collected in dry wooded land. "Tie a twig on the bare skin wherever the pain is. My sister had it tied on her back, and it helped."

[illegible], found in swamps. Its pounded stems and leaves are put into a little piece of cloth and laid upon an aching tooth. "It helped my little brother."

[illegible], found in the moist edges of brooks. Leaves and bark are pounded with salt and the juice put into the cavity of an aching tooth; the juice without salt is put into an aching ear.

Quilquil, found in brooks. Its pounded leaves and stems are applied to burns. The juice of its leaves and stems is taken orally for heart trouble.

Romero, found in swampy lands in deep ravines. Its leaf is placed directly on a boil or any swelling; reduces either.

——— [illegible], found on dry land. Its decoction is drunk for dysentery. It is pounded with kernels of wheat into a poultice and applied to ulcers.

——— [illegible]. A decoction of its leaves relieves a sick stomach; the juice of its leaves taken orally relieves arthritic pain in the hands. (The plant is also used as a love charm. Cf. p. 137.)

My inability to obtain *Araucanian* names for the following three plants on the Coastal Range (only Spanish names were known to informants) leads me to infer that their medicinal value was learned from Chileans and is not part of the traditional *Araucanian* pharmacology.

[illegible], found on shores of running brooks. Water in which the bark of its twigs has lain for an hour is drunk to reduce fever.

Tabaco, found in dry cut-over lands. The juice of its pounded leaves is taken orally to cause vomiting after eating to excess.

Yerba del chavalongo, found in moist soil. A decoction taken orally reduces fever. Its juice rubbed on the forehead relieves headaches.

Two plants, not identified botanically, both found in damp ground in ravines and low places in Alepúe area are the nawida (the juice of its pounded roots is drunk for stomach trouble) and the [illegible] (the informant would tell only that a lukewarm decoction of its roots and leaves was taken orally).

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757 Plants used for medicinal purposes in the valleys of the Andes (Panguipulli and Coñaripe) were:

Arrayán. The juice of its leaves is applied to sore or injured eyes.
Canelo. Its leaves are heated, salt pounded into them, and then laid on a boil to bring it to a head.
—— Chafchañ, found in swampy ground. "I cured my hiccoughs with it."
Helecho grande. A decoction made of it reduces severe fever. "It is especially good for children; no harm can come to them from drinking it."
—— Karakuñ. Its fumes are inhaled by both children and adults after a severe chill. The person is seated on a low bench and near him is set a dish with several hot stones on which leaves of karakuñ have been placed. He is given a mixture of water and urine in a cup, stoops over the heated stones, and then he and the dish are completely covered with a blanket. He pours the urine and water over the leaves and breathes deeply. Should he feel faint or find it difficult to breathe, "he is allowed to bring his nose and mouth from under the cover, but not his body."
—— Mañiú. Its inner bark and leaves are boiled to a condensed solution and gums and teeth are washed with it. It is believed that mañiú hardens the gums and maintains them in sound condition. "I washed the teeth and gums of all my children with it, and none of them has lost a tooth."
Ortiga menor. A decoction made of it is taken for heart ailments. A preparation of its roots mixed with calén, also known as albaquilla, is taken orally for typhoid. "When my four boys had typhoid, I gave them a decoction of these two plants; they were very sick. All got well, but one lost all his hair; for a time he was completely bald."
Palo negro. Its ashes are laid on itch or rash.
Saúco del diablo, found on shores of rivers. Today a decoction of it is taken to relieve a sick stomach. "I believe, formerly, fumes were made of it. I once saw an herbalist put hot stones into a wooden dish and place the dish near a sick person [indicated near feet, with knees in flexed position]. Then she covered the dish and the sick person, except the head, with a blanket. She raised the blanket a little and put some herbs, I believe trarumanall, on the hot stones."
Toronjil. A decoction of it and calén reduces fever. "It is very refreshing, and is cooling to the heart." (Informants knew no Araucanian name for toronjil.)

MENTAL ILLNESS

158 Psychoses among the Araucanians are very rare. It is believed, as noted earlier, that kalku and certain machi have power to bring mental illness upon individuals. A teacher explained to a boy, who claimed the spirit of sickness had been put into his sister by a machi, that his sister had died of pneumonia; that instead of coming to school she had spent the school hours outdoors in the rain for a week. "I admit that she did that," agreed the boy, "but that boy's family [pointing at a boy] hired a kalku to make her crazy—she stayed out in the rain because she was crazy." In the early days insanity is known to have resulted from starvation.

No case of psychosis existed in Panguipulli area while I was there. 158 There was a mildly psychotic woman in Alepúe area—a woman with a hyperactive thyroid. "Everybody knows she is queer," remarked the informant. She was the only psychotic person that had come to the attention of a non-Araucanian herbalist, or of whom she had heard it said that he was psychotic, in her 10 years in the area.

The only psychotic person in Coñaripe area was a middle-aged man. He lived in a ruka close to his aged father's. During an interview with the old man, the psychotic man was exceedingly boisterous in his own ruka. "He is scolding," said the father, "but it makes no sense. For some time past now, he stays in his ruka and does not want to leave it. Formerly, he walked around on the campo. He used to go to the mission to talk nonsense to the Sisters. They listened to him, gave him something to eat, and then brought him home. We bring him food, but for some days now he has refused to eat." The old man had no plans for caring for him beyond keeping him in his ruka and guarding him in case he became dangerous.

In Boroa area there were four psychotic persons, two women and two men. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have seen all four persons. One man leaves home and wanders about until he is brought back home. The other will not wear any clothing; he lies nude in his bed on the floor covered with a blanket. When disturbed, he rises abruptly and spins himself on his feet so rapidly that he seems not to touch the ground. I saw him do this. One of the women talks nonsensically and incoherently; the other sits in melancholy fashion and never speaks."

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Until recent years polygynous marriages were customary. Informants 595 recalled men who had as many as six wives, but the prevailing number was two. A man usually married as many women as he knew he could support and for whom he had the bride price. Occasionally a man succeeded in getting an additional wife without paying the bride price. Polygynists were usually caciques, the sons of caciques, [554] the machi, and other men of means. A man was known to have married a second wife because his first wife was too old or too lazy to do the necessary work. A man also married successive wives when each one failed to bear him children; he believed that each of the women was sterile. According to Cooper's sources wealthy or other prominent men had as many as 4 to 10 wives; an occasional one had 18, 20, or even 30. Some men, either from choice or because they were

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595 not able to pay the bride price, maintained a monogamous marriage (1946, p. 721).

Occasionally a woman resented her husband's marrying a second wife, either because she had a personal dislike for the other woman or was jealous of her, or because her husband neglected her, or it reflected on her capabilities. An instance was related where a man announced to his wife, who had borne him six children, that he was bringing home a second wife, a young woman. The young woman was brought in, and the neighborhood was feasted for a week. The two wives lived in separate ruka. The man ignored the first wife, and forbade her the customary jurisdiction over the second one. The non-Araucanian interpreter added: "The older one told me of her intense inner suffering because of this. When at the point of death, the husband came near her and immediately her resentment was roused, and she kept calling him, 'You devil.' The woman often said to me, 'I have suffered terribly.'" Instances were known where a woman found the situation of simultaneous wives exceedingly trying; sometimes so unbearable that she committed suicide by hanging herself. Usually, however, there was no difficulty about this.

Although at present monogamous marriages prevail, there were polygynous marriages in each area I visited. They are prohibited by Chilean law and are looked at askance by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. "Any man who has two wives today," said a 45-year-old Alepúe man, "is spoken of in derision as a cacique; to have two wives today is considered a disgrace." South of Boroa (Licán area) many men today have two wives; one has four.

Formerly, simultaneous wives were often sisters, possibly because of the custom of the sororate which was institutional but not obligatory. Today simultaneous wives in Licán are usually not sisters; no two of the Licán wives were. In Alepúe, they were: "Down near the Pacific lives a man, now older than 100 years, whose two wives were sisters; one is still living, the other died not long ago. A machi in Mehuin has three wives, two of whom are sisters." Many times wives were more distantly related. It was known that, in general, wives that were related lived more agreeably together than did others; exceptions, however, were spoken of.

Usually there is a considerable difference in the ages of the wives. The second wife of the 100-year-old man was younger than the children of his first wife.

More often than not each wife occupied—as they do today—a separate ruka; ruka in such cases were usually not far apart. If two or more lived in one, its fireplace was either shared by them or each had her own. A Boroa cacique's three wives lived in one long ruka and each had her own fireplace. In another Boroa ruka each of two wives occupied one-half of a long ruka, but used a common fireplace which was located in the middle of the ruka. Ruka were not divided by partitions—the fireplace was the dividing line.

Wives shared the household duties to a large extent, with consideration being shown to the one first married. It was she who acted as head wife, making all household arrangements and giving orders to the other wives. She had priority over them all in all things. In case of an argument, the younger ones were expected to keep still. "My grandfather used to say that his second and third wives were like maids to the first one." This did not mean, however, that the first wife did not participate in household duties.

Cooking was done by each wife in turn, if it was done for all families together—"that is, if it was done in one kettle. One wife prepared the forenoon meal and another the afternoon meal—we had only two meals each day formerly." Sometimes wives took turns by days. In some households each wife cooked for her own children—"it depended on what the oldest wife ordered." In such cases the husband took turns eating with his several wives and their children.

Each wife tended to her own children. She and her children were at home in the section of the ruka assigned to her. She kept this section clean and had all her belongings there. She did not feel at home in the sections occupied by the other wives, and would not take things from there for her use without the permission of the woman to whom they belonged. "If each wife feels at home only in her own section, fewer unpleasant happenings occur."

Polyandry, according to present informants, was never a part of the Araucanian culture. No instance was reported by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 721). Although Cooper's sources recorded it (1946, p. 722), my Araucanian informants emphatically denied that wife lending ever was practiced. The fact that the Araucanian language has no word for wife lending leads me to believe my informants. Two non-Araucanian women who know Araucanian family life intimately did not believe that wife or daughter lending to guests was practiced. "Hearing you say it is the first time I have heard it said about the Mapuche," said one. "I do not believe either that girls have sexual relationship with several men before they marry; an occasional one does, yes." Again this is not in agreement with Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722). The other non-Araucanian continued: "I am certain that these are not customs of the Mapuche. The marital life of married couples is very fine. Exceptions such as Cooper's sources give

595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).
838 A promiscuous woman is called fundomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

The word küŋa, my informants said, referred to lineage. Küŋa 613
persist in related family groups of the present day. According to non-Araucanian teachers all children claiming the same lineage will be on the same side in the event of a quarrel. The same is true when a quarrel arises among the people. A wake will be attended only by persons of the lineage of the deceased. "I have asked children at school why they were not attending a wake—maybe a neighbor had died—and the answer is always 'We do not belong to him; we are not related to him.'"

The sororate was institutional but not obligatory, as previously 587
stated. However, a man was not to marry a sister of his wife who was older than his wife. "These I call ŋillandomo; those younger than my wife, I call karum. I may marry all those called karum, but I may not marry one called ŋillandomo. I respect every ŋillandomo as if she were my wife's mother. Formerly nearly every man that married a second or third wife, married the sisters of his first wife; today this is seldom done."

The levirate, too, was institutional. Informants gave names of couples so married at present. Reasons for the levirate were to keep rights to land within the family, and also to provide care and protection for children. Quoting informants: "Recently a man in Calefquén (near Coñaripe) died and his brother married the widow." "Here in Alepúe three men were married that way within the last 10 years. Each man was more than 40 years old. Such marriages have very real value, even today. An unmarried brother has an obligation to marry his brother's widow; he is often forced to do so by his parents because they want their son's children cared for by someone who will be kind to them. Then, too, the man's parents want to keep the property in the family." "When my brother died," said a married man, "I took his wife and his four children into my house with my own family. Their oldest child was only four years old then. The people talked about me: they said that I had taken a second wife; they poked fun at me, saying that I was now a cacique. But there is no truth in that, for I have always respected my brother's wife. She has lived in our house with her children, and I will let her continue to do so."

Sometimes sons in their late teens object to their mother's marrying their father's brother. In such cases, if the mother wishes to marry, either the sons leave home or she does so and marries. It seems that the man who marries his brother's widow must always be a brother younger than the deceased husband, namely, one of those spoken of as fence. "My brothers older than I are considered fathers by my children."

AGE AND QUALITIES OF PARTNERS

582 Generally a man is older by several years than the woman he marries. In only 7 percent of the 116 families recorded in the census taken in Alepúe in 1940 (Censo de Alepúe de Noviembre de 1940) was the wife older than her husband. The second and subsequent wives were usually much younger than the man. The youngest of three wives of a Coñaripe man—the man was 80 years old in 1947—was 40 years younger than he when he married her. He had three children in 1947 younger than 10 years of age.

Both men and women were considered of marriageable age when in the twenties; however, a man was often in his early thirties before he married. Ages of parents and their children taken at random from the 1940 census of Alepúe follow: Husband, 46; wife, 36; children, 17, 15, 14, 13, 8, 7, 5. Husband, 38; wife, 35; child, 2. Husband, 41; wife, 38; children, 18, 15, 14 and 14 (twins), 12, 9, 4, 2. Husband, 53; wife, 55; children, 20, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman, namely, care for children, plant a garden, prepare and cook all foods; and she should know all things regarding the preparation and use of wool, such as washing it, spinning and weaving it into chamall, choapino, blankets, and other useful articles. A man is ready for marriage when he knows how to cultivate the soil, raise cattle and sheep, and has acquired both land and animals. Formerly, a man had also to be able to fight in war before he was allowed to marry. When the father thought that his son was ready for marriage, he suggested to him that he marry. Occasionally a man decided for himself that he was ready. "Today no one asks about any qualities any more," said a 70-year-old man. "As long as they are married—that is all that counts!"

601 From the day of marriage the man is spoken of as kure ŋen wentru, or kuri ŋelu, or kure ŋechi wentru (married man, or man having a spouse), or merely wentru (man); the woman, as fët'am ŋelu (a married one), or fët'a ŋechi (married woman), or merely domo (woman).

A man after the birth of his first child, and any old man, is called fücha (old man); a woman, after her first delivery, and any old woman, is called kuʃe (old woman). Such men and such women may also be spoken of as tremke che (the eldest ones). There is no change of appellation when a man becomes a grandfather, or a woman, a grandmother.

CHOICE OF MATE, MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

With some variations, the traditional proper procedure in the choice 584 of the first wife and the accepted marriage ceremonial were as follows: (1) One or more interviews were held between the father of the man and the father of the woman, or between a representative of the father of one of them and the father of the other. Sometimes the father talked to his son regarding the woman whom he wished him to marry; just as often he did not do so. Sometimes the mother of the woman was present at the interviews between the men; more often her husband conferred with her and then held the interviews. This was true regarding the mother of the man, also. In instances, too, the parents conferred with a daughter to learn her wishes regarding the man; more often she was not consulted. (2) An agreement was reached between the two fathers regarding the number and kinds of animals to be paid as bride price. The bride price was eventually paid by the man and his father to the woman's father. Articles of clothing and silver ornaments were usually given as gifts but were generally stipulated in the bride price also. (3) The date for the marriage was set. (4) The marriage ceremonial was carried out in the ruka of the 585 woman's parents, usually consisting of three parts: the bride price was delivered to the woman's father by the man and his father in the presence of the man's mother and other relatives, and gifts were exchanged; second, the giving of good advice to the man and the woman; and third, the partaking of food by all. In some instances the last two were omitted. (5) The man took the woman to the ruka of his parents where they were to live for some time. (6) The woman's personal belongings and her animals were transferred to her new home. "The thing that told people that these two were married was the fact that the man had paid the price—maybe a horse, an ox, and several cattle—*for* the woman. There was no wedding ring, or anything like it. The woman merely went to live in the ruka of the man's parents—that is, in a part of it—where she cooked and kept house for the man." Second and subsequent wives merely moved into their assigned ruka when the man got the consent of the woman's parents.

An Alepúe man in his late forties told of his marriage: "When I went for my wife, there were seven persons with me: my father, my brother, my mother, my eldest sister, and three men relatives. We left home the day before, spent the night in the hills, and arrived at the girl's home just at sunrise—one should arrive while the girl's family is still sleeping. As soon as we arrived there, we paid the bride price and gave gifts that we had brought." The informant did not

585 tell what the bride price had been but went on to say: "If we had been rich we might have brought as bride price several animals, probably a cow with its calf, a young cow bearing a calf, an experienced ox, a young untrained ox, and a horse. We might have taken as gifts two large black shawls, one for the girl's father and one for her mother; for the mother, also, a kopam [dress], a trarüloŋka [headband of silver medallions], and a trapelakucha [silver ornament with long danglers, usually ending in a cross, worn on the breast]; for the girl's father, we might have brought 50 to 60 pesos of silver. After we had handed over the gifts, the girl's mother led the girl to my mother. The girl's mother and father then talked to her, telling her to obey my father and mother; from then on, to respect me, her husband, and also her sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, and whoever would be in our ruka. Then we ate—we had not eaten any food that day. After that we sat around and talked, and in the afternoon the women prepared another meal. We ate it, and then went home. I took my bride with me. When we arrived at my home, a plentiful meal and mudai had been prepared for us there, also."

583 Kidnaping a bride, spoken of as stealing a woman, or eloping with one who had consented to marriage unbeknown to her parents (both ways are called ŋapitun) were institutional but were not considered proper ways of marrying. Kidnaping was done either by the father of the man and the man, or by the man himself. Kidnaping occurred when the woman's father refused the man's father his request for the woman; when the fathers had agreed upon a marriage, but the woman refused to marry the man; when the man knew that the woman was willing to marry him, but her parents refused to allow her to do so; or when the man was unwilling or unable to pay the bride price.

A woman informant described kidnaping as follows: "The man's father asks the girl's father for the girl, but he refuses to give his daughter. Then the man's father finds six men, the strongest he can find among his friends, and they set out to steal the girl. During the night they go to the ruka of the girl and the strongest of the six men sneaks in and carries the girl out by force, holding her securely in his arms, like one does a baby. The men outside stand ready to defend him and themselves, should the father and brothers of the girl retaliate—something they may do with pieces of burning wood or whatever they can lay their hands on. The men outside may take from their hands whatever they have, but they are not to hit the father or brothers. Sometimes, however, the men on both sides are much beaten up and even receive head injuries. If the girl resists and will not voluntarily mount the horse they have brought for her to ride, they will set her into the saddle and tie her feet to the stirrups or her legs to the horse so she cannot dismount to run away. Sometimes the girl yells and weeps out loud. Often a girl does not know whose wife she is to be. The man who carried her out of the ruka rides on her horse, back of the saddle, to prevent her escape. In this manner they bring her to the man's home. They guard her here for two or three nights. The man's father, and maybe several other men, will sleep alongside of each other across the door so that she cannot escape. In the daytime the man and one of the women accompany her if she leaves the ruka. I know one woman that was taken that way; they lived near here until a year ago. This woman resisted until she realized that it was of no avail. She then went willingly but asked that the women in the man's home would not maltreat her—women sometimes beat an unwilling girl. My mother told me that three of her friends died of heartache and grief because they were taken that way. One of them ran back to her family but her parents forced her to return to her husband. She ran away again, but hid in the woods, somewhere. Her parents found her there, and again forced her to return. When they heard some months later that she was dying of grief, they wanted her to come to her home to die; but she refused. She said that she would now sooner die among strangers than in the home in which she had been so badly treated."

Elopements occurred when a man selected his own wife and courted her secretly and, fearing interference from parents on either side, arranged with the girl to meet him at night to go to his home with him. Sometimes the woman told her parents beforehand; usually she did not since she feared their anger. In the case of an elopement, the man's father paid the girl's father for the "damage" within a month or at least within a year. Quoting a 40-year-old informant: "To steal a wife was a simple affair. I stole mine, but she was willing to go with me. I did so because I did not have enough animals to buy her. I learned to know her the same year I stole her. I met her secretly and talked it over with her. A man found opportunities to talk to the woman he wished to marry. It had to be done secretly, never publicly, for men and women were not allowed to speak to each other openly or in public. She met me near a certain tree where I had tied my horse, the one I had brought for her to ride. I told her to meet me there when the moon was at zenith, and she did. Then we rode to my home." At this point the interpreter (non-Araucanian) asked the informant why he had been so surprised then when his daughter eloped with a young man recently, since he himself had stolen his own wife. To which he replied: "I have told my children that they should not follow my example in things that I have done badly; that now I am giving them a good example and that they should follow it." He added with emphasis: "I still maintain it was a disgraceful thing for my daughter to run away the way she did! I sent her to school for four years, yes, longer than that. The longer children attend school the worse they are!"

Occasionally a woman was—and still is—forced into marriage entirely against her will. Old women who had lived forced marriages spoke of them with visible emotions of bitterness toward parents, and often toward the husband. None would relate her experience. A non-Araucanian interpreter later related the following which she said was not unlike situations described to her on occasions by old women: "Seven years ago (1940) an 18-year-old girl ran into our house, breathless, about 7 o'clock one morning, saying she had run away from home, that a young man had just been at their house and that she was going to be sold to him; that he was to return one of the following days to get her. She begged to stay with us for protection. We gave her breakfast, and tried to calm and comfort her. She was not here an hour when her mother and younger sister were rapping at the door. The mother asked if her older daughter was with us, and if so, she wished to speak with her. The daughter said that she was filled with fear and did not wish to speak with her mother. But the mother would not relent. So we told the girl that we would stay with her while she talked to her mother, which we did. The mother was very angry. She scolded the girl in the Mapuche language for running away, and raised her hand to strike her. She promised me that she would not force the girl to marry, if she came home with her then. The girl said, 'This is not the truth; my mother is only saying it,' and would not leave. The mother and the younger sister then walked to one of our Mapuche neighbors and asked the man there to help them force the girl to return home (the girl's father had died some years before). But the neighbor said he refrained always from getting mixed up with other people's troubles. The mother, in a rage of anger, now yelled at both the neighbor and me that if the girl did not return to her home, she would fetch her relatives and they would break all the windows of our house. She continued threatening. She walked around the outside of our house, yelling in anger. She would not leave the place. I encouraged the girl then to return home with her mother, telling her that I would go with her to talk to her brothers. When we arrived near her home, I saw her two brothers plowing nearby. I walked to them and explained that their sister had left home because she was being forced into a marriage; that this was not the proper thing to do to a sister; brothers should protect a sister. They replied that the matter was all arranged, that she had been promised in marriage, and that she had nothing to say about it. I saw one of them push the girl into the ruka. Their relatives told me later that the girl was whipped after I left. A few days later we heard that the man had come and taken her away. I met the girl a few weeks ago, and she told me that she has suffered much, but that she is more contented now. She has four little boys."

Present-day marriages rarely follow the proper traditional pattern. If arrangements are made between the parents of a couple, "the young man usually pays for his wife with an ox or a horse"; but today a young man often does not have the means to pay the bride price, or he sees no necessity for doing so. Not infrequently his father agrees with him in this. So, a marriage is discussed secretly by the man and the woman. Usually the man's parents know about their son's plans, but the woman's parents do not. When an agreement has been reached between the man and the woman, the woman leaves her home for the man's home at night, unbeknown to her parents. Her parents generally resent this procedure. If they have not been asked about the bride price and no arrangement has been made regarding it, they will be angry and will not allow the girl's personal things and her animals to be transferred to the man's place. They will insist that the bride price be paid. In due time, then, but often not until after the birth of the first child, the man will pay the bride price, and then the woman's parents relent, and will send the woman's belongings and property to her, and will also invite her and her husband for a visit.

A non-Araucanian teacher related the following regarding present-day marriages: "Any marriage that is not an elopement, at the present time, is an exception. Here is a sample: Two weeks ago, the children in school seemed very depressed. I asked several of them if something had happened, and each time the answer was 'No; nothing.' Later I noticed that two of the older girls who were dusting a hallway and room together did so in silence, an unusual thing. When they had finished, they walked outdoors and sat on a woodpile, again in silence. I walked up to them, and asked, 'What has happened? Why is the entire school so silent and depressed? Why does no one tell me?' One of them then wept loud, while the other told me that they had both had a sister stolen by a lover the night before; that they had both slept with their sisters and that neither one had noticed the sister leave the bed or go away; their absence was noticed only in the morning when everybody got up. Neither girl had spoken to her parents about marrying, and consequently their parents felt very had about it. The two young men were not related, but they must have agreed to get the girls at the same time. According to one girl's father the plans must have been made at a recent gillatun. He reasoned: 'It was the only opportunity that I know of that they had to do so.' Each girl had gone to the home of the man's parents. Enmity exists nearly always then between the girl's family and the man's family. Children of the families will quarrel on the way to and from school. When it is reported to me and I reprimand them for it, one group will say, 'Their family stole my sister.' Generally after a child is born to the young couple, or about to be born, the girl's mother relents; the girl may even be taken into her paternal home for delivery. Everyone gradually becomes reconciled. Before long the girl will ask for her property which usually consists of farm animals. When she receives it, some sort of feast is celebrated."

According to a non-Araucanian herbalist who had been in most of the Araucanian homes in the area, and who was a listener-in to the above, the girl's parents were not always annoyed with an elopement. She related the following as having been true on several occasions: "A young man and young woman agree to marry. Some night the man comes to get the woman. The woman leaves the ruka quietly and finds the place where the man with his horses is in hiding. She mounts a horse and the two ride to the man's home. Her parents, when they awake, act surprised and hurt, but this is merely a pretense. They do not go out to look for their daughter, for they know where she is. They show no friendliness toward the man, however, for they want him to pay the bride price. The couple lives as married. After some days, maybe two weeks, the young man goes to the home of the woman's parents to find out what payment is expected. Whatever her father demands, he must pay. The payment is always in animals. If the young man is rich, he may have to pay several animals, maybe a horse, an ox, a cow, and some sheep. After the payment is made, the woman sends word that she will visit her home. Her parents then prepare for her coming and invite relatives to a plentiful meal. In one locality in Coñaripe area a horse provided by the woman's parents must be consumed at this meal. After this the marriage is recognized as completed. The girl can now visit home as before."

Sometimes the girl, too, makes pretenses. To give the impression that she was being kidnaped but resisted, she bites the man's upper back and shoulders. The impressions of her teeth are pointed out as the result of her resistance. "Older people do not believe her; they recognize a sham when they see one."

An occasional girl goes of her own volition to the home of an un-

10: Hilger E-5 (194[illegible]952) 1957

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married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home. 583

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 750) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of [illegible] were used by women to make an elixir of love; that [illegible] has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 233); that [illegible], mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that [illegible] (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); [illegible] (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); [illegible] (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257). 832 278 [756]

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DIVORCE, SEPARATION, DESERTION, INFIDELITY

586 Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred living with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

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837 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Panguipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. No informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

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784 In Coñaripe area, mother-in-law-son-in-law and father-in-law-daughter-in-law taboos existed. A 100-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alepúe and Panguipulli informants, including several older than 80,

insisted that no in-law taboos ever existed among them. "These are not our customs; they are not now, and never were." [illegible]

According to Coñaripe informants the mother-in-law and son-in-law were not allowed to speak to each other after the marriage ceremonial; neither were the father-in-law and daughter-in-law. "These could all talk to each other freely for the last time at the marriage feast." The father-in-law-daughter-in-law taboo, however, was not so severe as the mother-in-law-son-in-law taboo. "A father-in-law will speak to his daughter-in-law and she with him, but with a certain degree of reserve; I know my wife talks that way to my father. It would be difficult if they could not speak together at all, for a man takes his wife to his father's ruka and they live there until he builds his own; a man never lives in his mother-in-law's ruka." A listening [illegible] woman interjected, "The father-in-law bought the woman for his son. He, therefore, certainly has a right to talk to her; even to command her." "Whenever I went to the ruka of my parents-in-law, my mother-in-law did not leave the ruka—after all there was no place else for her to go—but I could not talk to her. If I had anything to transact with her, I had one of her sons or her daughters do the talking. But I really seldom have anything to talk about with my mother-in-law."

A [illegible]-year-old Coñaripe area woman told of a screen of quila that a woman erected near her fireplace so as to have a place behind which to sit during her son-in-law's visits: "The mother-in-law does not look at him; she does not want to look at him; it embarrasses her to do so. She has erected for herself a row of quila stocks near the fireplace, that is, near the place where she customarily sits. Here she sits when her son-in-law visits her ruka. If other visitors come, she sits there too, but at the edge of the screen, from where she can visit." She added, with much emphasis and some anger, "It is a shocking thing to see a Chilean mother-in-law shake hands with her son-in-law. There is no respect in the world today!"

No reason for the custom of in-law taboos was known "unless it was that these persons had great respect for each other. But, in general, it has always been our custom for men to talk to men and women to women."

An [illegible] man or woman of the present generation pays no attention to these taboos. "There seems no sense in them," said a [illegible]-year-old woman. "Certainly, my husband talks to my mother." She herself talked to her father-in-law in my presence.

Joking relationships were probably not institutionalized. Persons with whom one might joke were not necessarily persons with whom one was expected to joke. It seems more likely that certain relatives were ex-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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606 cluded from those with whom one might joke; such persons were those older than oneself, persons affected by in-law taboos (in Coñaripe area), and persons to whom one owed conventional courtesies. More specifically, a man may joke, but does not need to do so, with the younger sisters of his wife; with those older than his wife he is to show reserve. A woman may joke with the younger brothers of her husband, but need not do so; she is to show reserve when speaking to the older brothers of her husband. A man will not joke with his brother's wife, even if she is younger than he. Children of the same age who are cross-cousins may tease each other when they meet, but never may a younger one do so to an older one. A woman may say to a young girl relative whom she may meet, "Are you out looking for a man?" But never may the girl say it to a woman. Neither could a young man say it to a girl cousin, "for it would show very bad rearing. It is really not allowed."

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING, HIS AIDES

776 The Supreme Being was spoken of as both the creator of the world (ngenemapun) and the ruler of the world or lord of all creation (ngenechen). (Cooper's sources, 1946, pp. 742-743, and Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 58, are in agreement with this.) "They are identical," said the informant, "just two names for one person." Prayers were addressed to the Supreme Being under both titles. In general, however, prayers were directed to ngenechen for matters pertaining to the earth: "I say, 'You, ngenechen, who are in the middle of heaven and are neighbors, grant that what we have sowed will bring harvest; and that our animals will multiply. Send us rain and sunshine.' That is how we pray when we pray directly to God." Ngenemapun was prayed to "when there was sickness in a family, and in general for protection for a family in all things." Generally, today, God is spoken of, and is addressed, as chao (father).

According to Cooper's sources the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order of things; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him (1946, p. 742). My informants were agreed that punishment was meted out to individuals and/or all the people while they were on earth. "Ngenechen sends punishment by sending weather like we are having this summer [drought]," said one; "He punishes us because so many Mapuche do not like to pray, and are not praying." Another, a 70-year-old man, said, "My grandfather was a real Mapuche; he

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could speak no Spanish and he knew nothing of any Christian religion; but if I did not obey him, he would say, 'Ngenechen will punish you for that.'" A man, an assistant to the cacique who led a ngillatun in Alepúe area, found, upon his return home from the ngillatun, that cows had eaten his garden. "He was very angry about this. When, later in the season, the lack of rain and intense heat caused a potato failure, people said that it was because that man had been so angry immediately after the ngillatun." 776

No informant had given much thought to the appearance of the Supreme Being. "I do not know what chao looks like. Prophets [leaders in the ngillatun] sometimes in dreams hear a voice like that of a man; sometimes they see a figure like a man; they say the voice is that of chao, and the figure is chao. Other prophets have told us that chao cannot be seen. The people do not know what he looks like."

All informants were agreed that the Supreme Being had with Himself a woman, spoken of as wenumapu ñuke (wenumapu meaning heaven or regions above, and ñuke, mother). In relationship to her the Supreme Being is spoken of as wenumapu chao. Cooper's sources agree with this statement, and state also that these two had sons and daughters (1946, p. 747), something with which not all my informants agreed. An old Panguipulli informant had not heard of such children; "but we know that chao has with him a woman to whom we pray as if she were our mother; we ask her to ask chao to give us what we want. She is chao's señora or domo [wife or woman]." Alepúe informants, however, spoke of children. Quoting them: "In heaven there is God father, God mother, and their sons and daughters." "I remember my grandmother going to the brook each morning and saying prayers; they were prayers addressed to God father, to the mother in heaven, and to their sons and daughters." The interpreter then questioned: "Already in the early days the Mapuche had the belief of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God?" To which the informant replied, "No, not like that; it is not the same—it is a family. We always thought of the people in heaven as being a family."

God is prayed to not only directly but also through intermediary, "such as the woman I just told about, and the deceased prophets." When an old Panguipulli man was asked who of these ranked first, he answered, "God is first and all the rest are equal. We can pray directly to God, but I usually address myself to the deceased prophets—they say that the deceased prophets are in the pillañ—and I ask them to intercede for us."

The location of the abode of the Supreme Being is not known; it is

776 spoken of as wenumapu—a word used also when speaking of the celestial regions, heaven. Several informants thought the abode might be the place called pillañ, but an old Panguipulli man was certain that it was not there. "God is in wenumapu," he insisted; "in pillañ are the deceased prophets, the old women who used to beat the kultrung in the nillatun, and other good persons. Pillañ is in all the volcanoes around here [Andes]." (Cf. also p. 105.)

There was no belief that deities of minor importance lived in animals, plants, or minerals. Quoting an Alepúe man: "We believed in one God in heaven, always, even in our old religion before we knew of Christianity; we prayed to no animals, nor to the sun—the sun is a natural thing. Nor did we think that there were spirits in trees or rocks or water." "The Mapuche in early days believed in the true God," said a Coñaripe informant; "they prayed to Him in the nillatun; it was the same God we pray to today. Those who write about us today say that we did pray to other beings than God, but we Mapuche know that we did not."

PRIVATE PERSONAL PRAYER, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWER

782 Not only do persons offer prayers as individuals, apart from group prayer, but on occasions, one or several persons make minor sacrificial offerings jointly with private prayer. When thunder and lightning occur in the daytime, someone in the ruka will throw a handful of wheat or corn either onto the firesite or on hot coals that have been removed to the outside of the ruka. "I put mine in an olla and set it outdoors, and say, 'Fey, chaw' [here, God], which means, 'God be merciful to us,' or, 'God, I offer this to You so that this storm will pass by without injuring anyone.'" The offering is made only once during a thunderstorm and is not made at night. School boys and girls 11 to 13 years of age had made the offering; those 8 and 9 years old had not.

When a 4-footed animal is slaughtered, the one doing so will sprinkle a little of the blood heavenward and say a prayer for its increase in his herd and flocks. "I saw my father take the steaming blood of a cow and sprinkle it toward heaven as an offering to God. This done, he went on with the slaughtering." Old persons in Panguipulli area still throw a spoonful of broth or mate or a little piece of any prepared food into the fire before beginning a meal. "It is like a prayer of thanksgiving for what we have, and of asking for that which we may still need." This custom was not known to Alepúe informants.

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The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 60-61) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 104-135), is not part of the Araucanian culture. 777 779

MALEVOLENT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepúe man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish them toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place." 778 777

According to a Panguipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit. "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kaikaifilu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 750, for other tren tren flood stories.) 776 778

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," commented the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be: in [illegible]" ([illegible], probably a word compounded to fit the application of [illegible]). According to [illegible] the following are in [illegible]: The bullies (there was a chorus of "no bullies" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques- 775

775 tion was asked); the machi that are also kalku, because these dealt with wekufü; those who caused another's death through witchcraft; those who killed another by overcoming him physically; those who stole animals, such as cattle, horses, sheep; those who burned down other people's rukas; the wekufü themselves.

THE NGILLATUN: TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL

796 Informants spoke of their tribal religious ceremonial as ngillatun (the Araucanian for "to ask for something") and as las rogativas (the Spanish for "several days of prayer"). "Both mean everybody comes together; when we use either word, we know we mean our ngillatun."

Until recent years the ngillatun (participants being the people under one cacique) was held several times each year: Early in spring to pray for an increase in flocks—more recently in herds also—and for favorable weather during planting time; during the growing season, in the event that unfavorable weather set in; and later in the season to petition favorable weather for harvest time. A special occasion for performing the ceremonial was to avert physical harm, such as might result from destructive wind storms, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods. On all occasions, in addition to the special petitions, prayers were for the welfare of all the people, especially of the families who were in attendance. An *Alepúe* man told the following as an example of a special occasion for holding the ngillatun: "While the great earthquake was going on in Valparaiso in 1906, the earth around here trembled a day and a night. The following day, the Mapuche here held a ngillatun. About 10 years ago, I thought we were having another serious earthquake. I looked at that hill to see if the tree trunks up there [in burnt-over lands] were moving—they were, and soon they were falling over. I knew then that there was a threatening earthquake. We held a ngillatun at that time, too." Today, the ngillatun is celebrated once a year, usually in the spring, as a petition for favorable weather for crops.

The celebration of a complete ngillatun takes 2, 3, or 4 days, depending on the number of animals to be sacrificed. Several weeks previous to the celebration, the men of the families who will participate meet for 1 or 2 days to decide on the exact time at which it is to be held. In December of 1946, preparations were being made for one to be held in Maiquillahue (*Alepúe* area). "Right now [February] meetings are being held here [Coñaripe] to decide on days in April [1947] for our next ngillatun."

Groups of families from several neighboring localities meet for the 796
performance of a ŋillatun. Quoting a 33-year-old Coñaripe man on whose land the ŋillatun is held: "Mapuche settlements in our vicinity, that is on this side of the Argentine line, that celebrate the ŋillatun somewhere, jointly with the others, are Coñaripe, Llanchahue, Pucura, Pullinque, Tracapulli, Kayumapu, Koiweku, Koskos, Lonkon, Reweku, Kariline, Kikine, Karango, Huechulafken, Limai. Two or three of these localities join to celebrate the ŋillatun—one locality decides to hold a ŋillatun, and then invites one or two others." For Panguipulli area the ceremonial had been held in three places between January 17 and 31, 1947, namely in Shoshuenco, Huitag, and Payahuinte. The families from neighboring settlements had attended each celebration.

The ŋillatun is always conducted on a grassy plot, usually in a glade, reserved for the purpose; for Alepúe area this plot is in Maiquillahue, "the most level pampa in the area." "I have noticed," said a non-Araucanian, "that the Mapuche do not utilize this plot for any other purpose; it is never plowed under, nor are animals grazed on it." Quoting a Coñaripe man: "The ŋillatun for Coñaripe is held on my land; it was held there when my grandfather and my father owned the land. It is because of this tradition that it is so difficult for me to refuse to let the people hold it there. Every year during its celebration, there is damage done to my wheat in the adjoining field, and to my fences, also. I have often complained about this. I myself do not believe in the ŋillatun, nor do many other young people, but we respect it as the religion of our old people who have faith in it, and who encourage its continuance. We attend because we can renew acquaintances and visit, and there is much good food to eat, too!"

The leader of the ŋillatun announces the date for the celebration 796
and sends out summons to the people through men who assist him in
the ceremonial; informants called them captains and sergeants. In 793
Alepúe area, the cacique is the leader; in Coñaripe and Panguipulli [202]
area, he is a person known as ŋenpin, and, when spoken of in Spanish, as prophet. In no area did the machi have duties of leadership in the ŋillatun by virtue of his status; in fact, a machi was not allowed to be the leader. The ŋenpin, according to Félix José (1916, vol. 1, pp. 55-56), is the person who leads the prayer and delivers orations in the ŋillatun for all present, and directs the activities connected with the sacrifices of the entire group, as well as the individual sacrifices offered by each family; one can consider the ŋenpin as a class of priests although they do not ordinarily slaughter the animal to be sacrificed. My informants noted that the prophet inherits his position from

796 793 his father. "The one in Coñaripe is a man 50 years old; his father was the prophet before him. When the father died, this son did not want to be the prophet, but the people acclaimed him to be one, unanimously. Always someone in the same family is to be the prophet." The prophet does not dream to become one, nor is there any training or initiation given him.

796 Each family prepares food needed for the days at the ŋillatun before leaving home. "I remember well with what interest my grandfather prepared to go to the ŋillatun. Today, still, every family all around here slaughters a sheep to take along as food." The father slaughters the sheep, or if he is dead, the oldest person in the household will do so; usually this is the mother. Whoever slaughters it sprinkles the yard of the ruka with the steaming blood of the sheep as he walks about the yard saying a prayer. A twig is used in sprinkling. Tortillas to be used as a sacrificial offering are baked without salt, yeast, or grease. When so baked, they are called marew ckull. These tortillas are taken to the ŋillatun and so are ollas filled with mudai. No intoxicating liquor, such as chicha, is drunk at the ŋillatun.

On the opening day—or the day previous, if the distance requires it—families set out for the celebration. Those from a distance come on horseback, each man blowing his pifalka almost continuously as he rides along. (See pl. 32 for pifalka.) "Not long ago, when the ŋillatun was held here [Coñaripe], we could hear the shrill sounds of the pifalka from here and there and there [pointing in various directions] as the families in the Cordillera came down the mountains. Those who wish to make a family sacrifice will bring a hen; an occasional family brings a sheep; sometimes a group of families from a locality make a joint sacrifice of a sheep. When this is done, the sheep is brought to one of the leaders of that locality, and he brings it to the ŋillatun."

All members of a family attend the ŋillatun, except the sick and someone who stays home to guard the ruka, usually one or two children. In December 1946, in Coñaripe, there were 500 to 600 men, women, and children present. Nearly everyone comes and brings all the dogs but one, which stays home with the children to guard the house. A child who stays home the first day is allowed to attend the following day, when another one must stay home. Even skeptical persons attend. "I always attend," said one, "and so do my parents, but we do not participate in the ceremony nor do we drink any of the sacrificial mudai—it is often no good anyway! I believe that those who attend can be classified into three groups: those who merely come to

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look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony."

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Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, so the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it."

[184]

Although features of the sacrificial ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following:

The leader, whether he be a cacique or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the captains and sergeants of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pucura (Coñaripe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a machi, also from Pucura, "But the machi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The captains and sergeants prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (figs. 2 and 3). In the center of the Coñaripe grounds (fig. 2), four colihue are placed in the ground; in Alepúe, one maqui tree. This place is called parule (referring to the dances). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the colihue, the tortillas brought by the families are arranged in a row of piles. "At our last ngillatun the piles were so high [1½ feet]." Behind the tortillas a row of containers, each filled with mudai, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the chalice used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the colihue are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a trutruka (see pl. 32, *1*). "Each man with a trutruka needs two posts: a crotched one in which he rests his trutruka and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the trutruka. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are like guards of the place. Pucura had one trutruka in December, and Llancahue had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is planted in a place somewhat apart from the parule. Here the machi will sit, each with his or her kultrun (pl. 30, *1*), "sometimes there are as many as four machi." Formerly each machi had a pole. During the ceremonial each machi beats his or her kultrun, and together they sing (informant sang in Arauca-

796 mine): "You, who are above in heaven, give us all that is necessary as food. Give us wheat, corn, potatoes. Give us peas and quinoa. Give us lanko kachu."

A fireplace upon which the sacrificial animals are to be consumed is prepared "like all other fireplaces are, but this one is considered sacred." Embers are kept glowing by a boy and a girl, between 7 and 10 years of age—"they must be very innocent and guileless still"—who swing branches with leaves over the fire in a manner to make the smoke go heavenward. The Coñaripe prophet chose two of his own children for the December gillatun. The sheep and hens to be offered are tied to poles at some distance from the grounds and are brought in as needed.

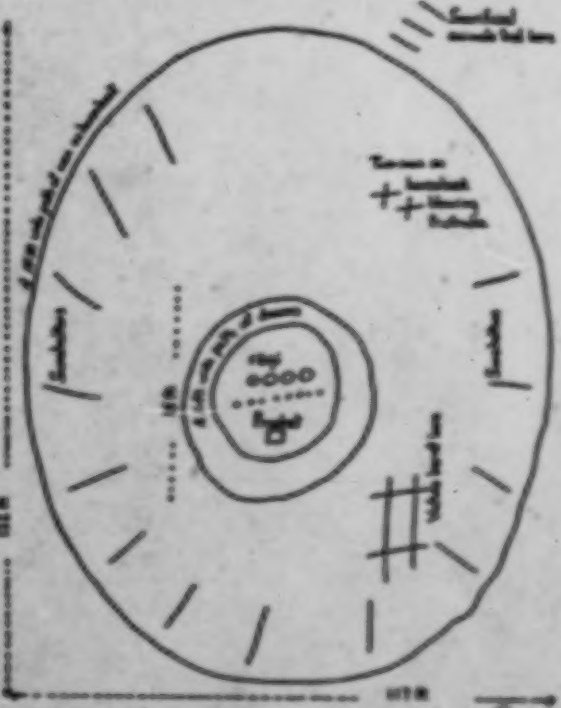

FIG. 2.—The gillatun in Coñaripe area. (Diagram drawn by a Coñaripe informant.)

While the above preparations are being made, the families raise sun shelters in close proximity to each other and in an elliptical pattern

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about the parade as the center. Each sun shelter is shared by several families. Persons rest in them during the daytime and eat meals there. Leaders and other men sleep there at night; all others return home or stay with relatives nearby for the night. 796

When all has been prepared, the leader, the men with the trutruka (pl. 32, 1), and the machi take their positions. Men—as many as 796 535

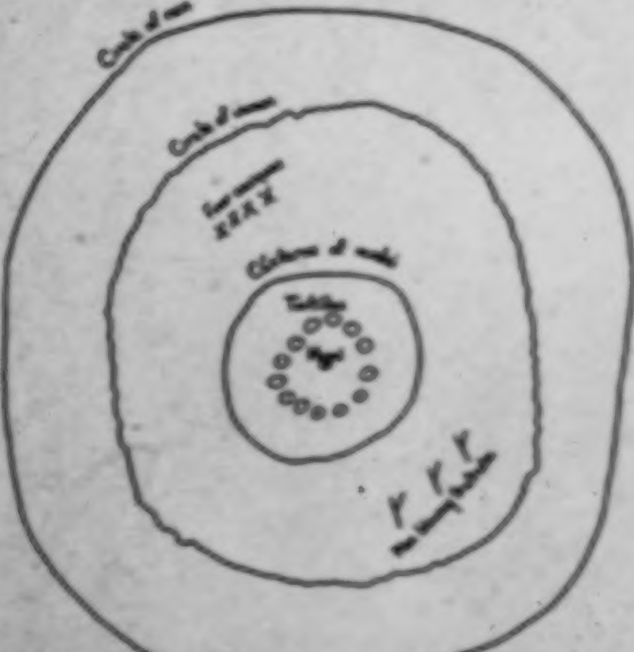

FIG. 3.—The ngillatun in Alepúe area. (Diagram drawn by an Alepúe informant.)

50 to 80, depending on the number present—mount their horses and get into formation beyond the sun shelters. Other men and the women and children get into solid formation to dance the purun about the parade and the machi.

A man joins his right hand with the left hand of an unmarried woman, preferably his wife's unmarried sister (never with his wife); a young unmarried man, with an unmarried girl. Couples stand abreast to a radius of approximately 15 feet. The movements of the parun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the parufe barely move, 535 while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifalka, the machi beat their kultrun, and the men blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the gillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the parufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the parufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntron." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntron around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the parun until the küntron has ended.

A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the pulsating heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four cuthiñe. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the gillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the gillatun."

After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

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tain and sergeant from the leader's locality have moved, on horseback, 796 to where the sacrificial sheep and hens have been tied. After the leader has finished the pipe, these two men dismount, and while they are doing so, several persons throw pieces of lung toward them. The two men then pray quietly for about 5 minutes, addressing their prayers to chau and to wenumapu ñuke (the woman with chau). "It looks as though these prayers were being addressed to the sun, for the men look directly at the sun." They again mount their horses and ride nearly 50 yards beyond the sun shelters, one carrying a vessel of mudai and the other a pipe filled with tobacco. At this distance they gallop completely around the ellipse of the grounds four times. Each time they come back to the place where the sacrificial animals are tied, pieces of lung are thrown toward them, and all the people yell "Ya-ah!" After the fourth ride is completed, the two men slide off their horses, and each takes a colihüe from the middle of the row at the rewe. With these in their hands both dance around the rewe four times. After this all the participating young men run round the rewe, each one carrying a vessel of mudai, and everyone yells "Ya-ah!"

One-half of the sheep that was sacrificed is consumed in the sacred 796 fireplace; the other half is roasted over the sacred fire and is then divided among the people by the captains and sergeants. The first 786 piece that is cut off the roasted meat is placed at the rewe for chau. All bones left after the flesh has been eaten are burned in the sacred fire (pl. 32, *3*). Great care is always taken that none of them is gotten by dogs. The entrails and hides are buried so close to the fire that dogs will not dig for them. Toward the end of the ceremonial, the tortillas are cut into strips and shared by all; the mudai, too, is consumed by participating persons. This is drunk from wooden tumblers or pottery vessels.

The ceremonial of the second day is merely a repetition of the first day's, except that usually all hens are sacrificed on the second day by being thrown on the fire to be consumed there.

Two old men—one each from a separate locality—act as policemen. 796 "Order must be maintained about the place; there must be no laughing or visiting during the ceremonies." Informants said that the recurrence of the number four has no significance—four is not considered [801] a sacred number. According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 742-743), the rewe at one time was one of the main features of the gillatun. It was not known to have been used in areas I visited.

The konchitun (sharing a meal of mutton supplied by one of two men) is not a part of the ceremonial, but is an adjunct to it. Formerly it was an expression of sincere mutual friendship between two men

796 and might occur at any time (cf. pp. 62-63). Today it is performed at the gillatun, rarely otherwise, and is an expression of sincere good will between people of two localities. "We had a konchitun at the December gillatun for invited families from Pucura," said a Coñaripe informant; "these people now owe us a sheep and [laughing] we must hold a gillatun in April to give them an opportunity to pay us back."

The following rather complete account of the manner of conducting the gillatun in Alepúe area was given by a 66-year-old man with a 47-year-old man collaborating. The diagram in figure 3 was drawn by them. Both were active participants in the ceremonial.

> The cacique of Mehuín leads the gillatun in our area, that is for Alepúe, Chan Chan, Pelluco, and Maiquillahue. Our cacique (Alepúe) holds second position; the cacique of Chan Chan, third; and a cacique from the other side of the Mehuín River, the fourth. Each brings with him a captain and a sergeant, the captain taking precedence over the sergeant. The two duties of the captain and sergeant are, first, to inform the people in their respective localities that a gillatun will be held and second, to assist in the performance of the ceremonies. The holy pampa is in Maiquillahue—it is a hundred meters square. [The interpreter thought it to be much larger. The informant continued somewhat vindictively:] Every year the owner of the holy pampa extends his fence a little farther into it and thereby lessens the extent of the holy pampa.
>
> The complete gillatun consists of two separate gatherings. The first lasts one day. Its purpose is to tell why a gillatun should be held and to set the date for the second meeting which is usually held two months later. The second gathering lasts at least two days—it begins early in the morning of one day and ends in the late afternoon the following day. If there is moonlight, the sacred dancing will be continued through the night between the days; if there is no moon, the caciques will not permit dancing at night.
>
> A gillatun is held either because the leading cacique decides that there shall be one or because one of the other three caciques asks him to hold one, or because people in a locality jointly go to their cacique and petition for one. Other reasons, in recent years, for holding a gillatun were continuous unfavorable weather, or because our grain was not maturing as it should, or to avert the catastrophe of an earthquake. One can be held for any other reason for which the people may want one. The last gillatun we had—the one in October [1946]—was for favorable weather.
>
> The first gathering is held in the open, but the gillatun itself is conducted in an enclosure made of saplings, with branches and leaves retained. The saplings are planted so as to slant toward the inside of the enclosure. In the center of the enclosure a canelo about 5 feet high is erected. Anyone who has the good will to do so may erect it. I recall one gillatun at which the canelo was forgotten. On that occasion the gillatun opened and there was no canelo. The man who had volunteered to get it, hurried out and got one.
>
> After the canelo has been planted, the four lambs that have been brought for sacrifice are brought into the enclosure. These must be white female lambs; they are voluntary offerings by anyone who wishes to offer one; black lambs cannot be sacrificed. White or yellow hens, about mature enough to be eaten, may also be sacrificed. If anyone brings a lamb of any other color, he is told that he may take it home again.

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The leading cacique makes a small incision close to the heart of one of the lambs, reaches in, and draws forth the pulsating heart. The heart is punctured then, and at each pulsation the leading cacique dips a sprig into the blood that squirts forth, and sprinkles it toward the [illegible]. He continues this until the pulsations end. The hens are taken next, one at a time. The head of each one is chopped off and the leading cacique, holding the body in one hand, moves the neck back and forth, sprinkling the [illegible] with blood.

This done, the leading cacique addresses God Father in prayer—we call him chao—asking for the blessings of the particular intention for which the ngillatun is being held. It includes a prayer asking that the people will be blessed with seasons of favorable weather and a good harvest, and that there will be no accidents. The same prayer is addressed to God Mother, asking her to ask God Father for these favors. Then they ask the sons and daughters of God Father and God Mother to intercede with God Father for the same favors. Next, they ask the deceased great caciques, [illegible] and [illegible], to intercede also. These are two important caciques of long ago. They lived some distance apart and communicated with each other in dreams; they were not from *Alepúe* area, but from somewhere else. After mentioning these two caciques, they mention in prayer the more important deceased caciques who lived in Alepúe area. My grandfather is among those mentioned—I still have his pifülka, and cherish it. I recall how fluently he recited these prayers.—At the close of the ngillatun, they promise these caciques that in another year they will hold another ngillatun. The leading cacique then prays to other deceased persons, whom he remembers as being with God in heaven, that they, too, intercede with God for the people.

Then a lamb is thrown on a huge fire which is about 20 meters away from the enclosure, but within the area known as the holy pampa; the lamb is completely consumed there. [The interpreter remarked that it must produce an unbearable stench, to which the informant answered that the breezes from the Pacific carried it away.] Each sacrificial lamb is killed, its blood sprinkled, and the rest consumed by fire. The sacrifice of the lamb is the essential of each sacrificial act, an act repeated four times during each of the two days.

While the animals are being consumed by the fire, the leading cacique beats a kultrun. The men mount their horses and ride, two abreast, very orderly around the outside of the enclosure and the fire. The women join hands and dance around the [illegible] to the beat of the kultrun. Any man who brought a trutruka blows it—usually there are two or three that have done so. This part of the ceremonial usually takes a half hour. Then the men dismount, tie their horses to the fences that are nearby, and walk to the enclosure in orderly formation, two and two, those from each locality being led by their captain. Then each man pairs up with a girl or woman, and all dance slowly. This dance is followed by a second dance which is done faster. Anyone who does not follow the formalities of the dance is corrected. If he does not improve, he is suspected of ridiculing it and is told to leave. No one is allowed to ridicule or laugh at anything. This ceremony has taken another half hour. Everyone now rests. All I have told you up to now is considered one complete sacrifice. The identical ceremony with sacrifices is repeated four times, a lamb being offered each time. Between these acts of sacrifice, time is taken out for a rest.

Each woman has brought with her, tied in a piece of cloth, something of everything she has planted or intends to plant—probably a handful of wheat, barley, corn, peas, flax, and two or three potatoes. She places these as her offering near the [illegible]. Later when the four sacrifices have been completed, these offerings

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796 are dropped on the fireplace where they are consumed—they are consumed after the lamb, and the lamb are consumed after the lambs. Before the women's offerings are burnt, the following prayers are said in Mapuche: "God Father who art in heaven, you see what we are doing here today, that we are offering you this sacrifice; forgive us our faults; give us food and a good year; do not punish us since today we offer you this lamb and all these cereals and vegetables which you, God Father, gave us. We beg you, God Father, that you give us a good year, that you will not punish us with intense heat, that you will let the seeds sprout well so that there will be a good harvest, that there will be no sickness among your children whom you now see here; that there will be no mishap among your sons and daughters in their work in the fields and on the sea where your sons work. Fill our lives with good living. We beg, also, you, God Mother, to pray to God Father for us. We call also on you, the caciques who have left us, and who now see us from heaven where you are." Every married man has brought a tortilla (about 12 inches in diameter) and a chicha of muday. At present the muday is made of corn, or wheat and barley, ground on the metate; formerly, the women chewed the corn and spat it into an olla and let it ferment into muday.

Between the two dances during the fourth act, each sergeant distributes pieces of tortillas, which he has cut from those offered at the nguillatun, to men, women and children from his locality who danced—those who were merely onlookers do not receive any. After that, he passes muday to the same persons. The muday which is not drunk is poured out. Nothing is taken home.

Children join in all dancing and are present everywhere. They must be orderly and show respect by their conduct. The machi are present but merely as other persons are; they have no duties at the nguillatun nor are they shown any special respect.

At the end of the nguillatun the machi bid each other goodbye. All others say goodbye to each other—just like we do after Mass—some merely embrace, others kiss, everybody shakes hands.

BLACK ART

754 Black art, or witchcraft, is resorted to as a means of revenge or because of jealousy. Once it is suspected that black art has been inflicted on a person or his property, retaliation is sought through the same means. Kalku—witches, both men and women—practice it either directly or through a medium (cf. pp. 70, 133). If it is inflicted on persons, the result is physical or mental ill health (cf. pp. 110, 124); if on property, fields of wheat are usually involved. The medium employed is known only to the kalku using it, unless he has told some of his fellow kalku about it. Panguipulli informants knew that several kalku met periodically secretly "in the deep woods where no one else goes," and there laid their plans to do injury to someone. Such meetings are called reninkin.

If a wheat field is to be damaged, the medium used is the meat of any 4-footed animal and/or eggs, which are bewitched and buried in the field. Children everywhere volunteered information which agreed with that already obtained from adults regarding fields that had been ruined by witchcraft. Quoting a 14-year-old Alepúe boy: "They will then search in the field for meat—it is usually wrapped in a rag and can be found. I have helped to look for such a little package. If they find the meat, they hang it over the edge of the fire in the ruka so that it will dry up. This will cause the one who buried it to dry up, also. Others stick it full of needles and lay it in the sun. The one who did the damage then feels the pain of the needles. Soon he begins to feel sick; and soon after that a terrible sickness will come over him which will give him the sensation of needles in his body. His entire body will tremble. If the sun shines, he will go out and stay in the hot sunshine" (something not done by sane persons). A 12-year-old boy, a listener-in, explained: "The kalku can use eggs in place of meat, if he wishes to; but usually meat is used. After the bewitched meat or eggs are in the field for several days, the wheat in that field either turns yellow or shrivels up. If they find the buried meat, they will hang it over the fire and cause the person who did the damage to shrivel up just like the wheat shriveled up. But if the one whose field was injured does not wish to take revenge, but is forgiving, he will throw the meat into a river—people can find out at the machitun who is responsible for the damage; for example, the machi will say that such and such a neighbor is. If the family wants to take revenge, however, it may then decide to hire a kalku to do injury to that neighbor by spoiling his wheat field." "I asked our neighbor, one day," said a non-Araucanian teacher, "why a certain man was losing weight perceptibly. He answered that the man had planted eggs or meat in somebody's wheat field, and that he was now reaping the result of his evil deed. He then told of an old woman near here who was burying eggs and meat in her brother-in-law's land and was caught in the act. The brother-in-law immediately dug up the meat and hung it over the fire. Then the woman took sick with asthma, and began to lose weight; she was sick for two years. By that time the man had pity on his brother (the husband of the woman) and threw the meat into the creek. As the meat took on shape slowly by absorbing water, the woman gradually got better, and finally got well. This happened six years ago [1946]." In Panguipulli even retaliation by shriveling the bewitched meat is not known. A common form of revenge there is to poke two sticks at right angles through one of the eggs found in the field and then to hang the egg over the fire. In consequence the one who did the damage to the field will become blind or have an arm paralyzed.

754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening-in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Skeptical persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucura withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a bridge or on a thornbush, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs rot away because everyone believes this."

CONJURING

787 756 Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 113-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi smokes or dreams. "I know of an occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk ([illegible]); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

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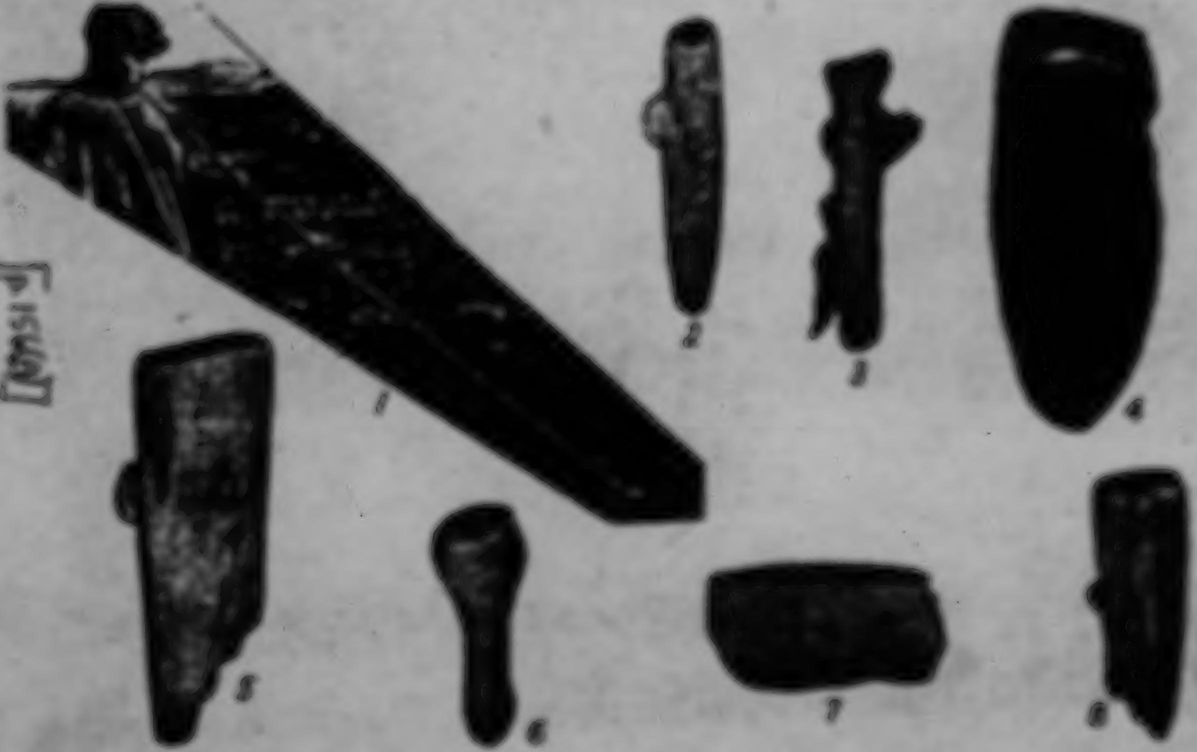
[illegible]

[p. 154(1)]

[p.154a]



Musical instruments: 1, [illegible] (Province of [illegible]). ([illegible]) 2, 3, 4, [illegible], and 5, [illegible] 6, 7, 8, [illegible] (Figures [illegible] courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

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[illegible]: 1, Cemetery in [illegible] area. 2, Close-up in the same cemetery. 3, Grave marker ([illegible]).

[p. 152(c)]

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and consequently hired a machi to conjure. The machi assented, and then either in the smoke or in a later dream—I cannot recall which—she got the answer. She said the man still lived. The machi had sent her witchcraft over to Argentina to find out. Before the year ended, the woman's husband came back to Chile. His wife asked him if he had seen any sign of the machi's witchcraft, and he answered, 'Yes, I was coming through the woods one day when I saw a [illegible] sitting on a fallen tree trunk. The bird sat there a long time and looked at me. I wondered why he was sitting there so tame. What could it mean and who could it be, I thought. I went home, but I kept thinking about the bird. And now I have the answer.'"

OMENS

787 Both good and bad omens are known. Those related to sickness or death seem to have much significance (cf. pp. 109, 158), as do those that foretell famine. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man told about one of the latter: "Any year that all the colihüe blossoms—normally only a few blossom each year—the people are overtaken with hunger. This is unfailingly true; something happens to the wheat fields. We can never tell just when the damage is done to the wheat, but at harvest time there is practically no grain left to be harvested; it stands exceedingly thin. Two years ago the colihüe all blossomed and that year we suffered plenty. Already now the people are saying, 'What will happen this year? Have you seen how the wheat is thinning out?'" A non-Araucanian listener-in added, "What he says is true. But what happens, I think, is that rats and mice come to eat the colihüe seeds; they are attracted by the abundance of these seeds. We know that foxes and birds of prey come in goodly numbers that same year, and we see them eat the rats—but by that time the rats have already eaten much of the grain. The foxes become a pest then, they stay around and eat the chickens."

In Panguipulli it is a bad omen if a puma comes out of the woods and walks into a glade or on some cleared land "and walks around on it; it is a positive sign that the man who owns that piece of land will be forced to relinquish it to a Chilean," said the informant with some resentment. "The same holds true," he added, "if partridges land on a piece of land and do a great deal of chattering there." In both Panguipulli and Alepúe areas a person who is making a journey on horseback can expect to have a good journey if the bird called chucao sings his call note to the rider's right; misfortune will befall him if the bird does so at his left.

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

763 Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepúe area the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years if/after the call note of the pau'dindö (bird) or that of the guedrude (bird) is heard. The guedrude's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light at night is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is foretold by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as chedichedi, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 119-120). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the chedichedi sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that clinch beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant [758] death has been brought about, however, in Panguipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche feast, a Chilean puma hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his puma hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank three drinks in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

761 825 In Coñaripe it is believed that death will come upon a person who lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

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you to photograph her while she sets up her loom, I shall set it up and let you photograph me. And I shall also prepare the warp and do a little weaving for you, so that you can get photographs with a weaver on them. My mother believes that if she is photographed she will have to die." Five young men talked with humor of having to die soon, since a picture had been taken of them. 761 215

DEATH

When it is evident that a person is dying, relatives are notified—that is, all those who bear the same name as his, or are of the same lineage. They stay with the bereaved family, and later near the dead person's remains, until the burial, except for such time as is needed to care for animals at home. During the days of waiting for death a cow or sheep belonging to the dying person is slaughtered by relatives and consumed; if necessary, a second one is slaughtered for the wake. 763

The dying person—man, woman, or child—is clothed in his best clothes. If his family adheres strictly to the old customs, a band will be put over the forehead of a man and tied in a knot on the side of his head, "like men formerly wore them." A woman's hair is held in position by means of her silver ornaments; her breast ornaments and stickpins are also worn. Feet are bare, unless the dying person has a pair of shoes. "I was present when a man dressed his dying wife in her jacket and skirt," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The man wanted to know from me whether he should put the woman's best shoes on her or an older pair. I suggested the older pair, and that someone else might wear out the better pair. Just then the woman's mother came nearby and the man consequently put the best shoes on his wife." No facial or skin decorations were used.

During the present study a non-Araucanian herbalist was present at the death of a 17-year-old youth in Alepúe. What she then observed, she was later told, was traditional. When she arrived at the ruka, the young man, then dying, lay with feet toward the entrance of the ruka, which was also toward the fireplace. The entrance was the one generally used; on previous visits she had found the young man lying with feet toward the side entrance. The following relatives (the young man's father was deceased) were squatted in the ruka: the mother, maternal uncle and aunt, paternal uncle and grandmother. A neighboring man, his wife, and their young son were also present. The mother was at the left, near the head of her dying son; the herbalist was directed to sit in the corresponding place to the right at his head,

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763 a place, it appeared, reserved for her. The other women were squatted in a row on the man's left; his brothers (he had no sisters) were in a row at his right; the other men and the boy were on their haunches in a semicircle between the fireplace and the main entrance. The dying youth, dressed in shirt, sleeveless sweater, and pants, but barefoot, lay on the wool side of a sheep pelt on the ground; his head rested on a roll made of a black shawl. Shortly before he became unconscious—he lost consciousness about 15 minutes before he died—the paternal uncle and one of the other men put shoes on him. Immediately following death, the mother's sister secured the jaw in normal position by tying a cloth about it, and the men then changed the clothes he was wearing to his best ones, which were lying on a log nearby. (Generally, the herbalist noted, a dying person is first completely stripped of all clothes and then clothed in his best ones before he loses consciousness.) His face was then covered with a piece of cloth. At this point the informant set out for home. She was certain that the usual things were done next: the body was laid on a low platform made by resting planks on log sections and covering them with sheep pelts or a blanket and then covering the body with a blanket also. Neither face nor body was again uncovered.

While the young man was still conscious, the herbalist noted, persons present talked about his wake. Among other things, one said, "We do not have enough sugar for yerba maté; we shall have to send someone to Valdivia for some [an all-day trip]. If he dies tonight, we shall need it by tomorrow." Another asked, "Who will make the coffin for him?" (The man who generally made the coffin had gone to Villarrica.)

THE WAKE AND BURIAL

764 According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 734-735) rites and observances connected with death and mourning differed somewhat according to period and region and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Chief characteristics were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females and sometimes rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor to honor the deceased (awn or awün rite), and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of blood specimens or the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of canelo wood which gives off dense fumes; keeping the body

on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even two, three, or more months, until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, and who drank toasts to the dead and placed gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Of these conventions only a few exist today. In all areas informants remarked that the old customs regarding wakes and burials were dying out; that what one saw today was a mixture of traditional Araucanian customs and those of Chileans, except in families where the wishes of old relatives were still respected and consequently old customs were carried out.

The following generalized account of both traditional and present-day customs is based on statements made by my informants.

A wake formerly lasted until all relatives had arrived, or until sufficient food—tortillas, mutton, and mudai—had been provided to feed all those who were expected. This usually took two or three nights and the intervening days; at times, much longer, even a month. During this time, the body rested on a ladderlike frame with food and drink placed about the head, and the clothes and other personal belongings of the deceased placed about the body. Formerly, if the burial did not take place within a few days, the body was fastened to the ladderlike frame and the frame either set up erect, resting in crotches of two branches of trees that had been set in the floor of the ruka, or the head end of the frame was fastened to rafters, and the frame thus suspended. A body so suspended was called pilŋai. Men, women, and young children were so treated. A baby's corpse was tied to its cradleboard and set up against the wall of the ruka, a custom which still prevails. "I saw several bodies so suspended," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "The odor was terrible." To which a listener-in added: "The stench was unbearable! But the people put up with it; we had no way of embalming a body. No, the blood was not withdrawn nor were herbs tied to the body. Do your people do that?" The pilŋai is no longer a custom.

Today, in Coñaripe area, a body, including head and feet, is wrapped in a blanket or chamall and bound about with trarüwe, the woven material used for belts. Old informants gave this as an old custom. "Recently one of our schoolboys was so laid out," said a non-Araucanian teacher. "The boy's hat rested on his face; bottles of chicha, pans of fried chicken, stacks of tortillas, the boy's clothes, his pencils, writing tablets, and schoolbooks lay near him—mostly about his head. Not too long ago, I attended the wake of an old man. He, 764 too, was completely wrapped in a home-woven blanket and bound about with a trariwe. About his head, too, were eatables and clothing. Persons, as they arrived to attend the wake, were offered food." Seen lying alongside a body in Panguipulli, were a knife, tortillas, toasted wheat, and a pair of new shoes.

At present a wake is generally of two nights' duration; if longer, it is because of a delay in obtaining a burial permit. The permit is granted according to Chilean law by a Chilean officer when the death is recorded. During the wake several persons—relatives or neighbors—are always in the presence of the corpse. The Chilean custom of burning candles continuously about the body, from death to burial, is followed at all wakes; so is that of placing flowers near the body—fresh ones, if they are in season; otherwise, those made of paper. At intervals, alternately, Christian prayers are said in Spanish and traditional Araucanian ones in Araucanian. At intervals, too, food is eaten while sitting about the corpse. In Alepúe area tortillas or bread [194] and yerba maté are brought from home and eaten with meat supplied by the deceased person's family; in Coñaripe area, all food is supplied by the family of the deceased. The closest women relatives of the deceased refrain from cooking during a wake.

Immediately after the death of a man, his horse was saddled and tied to a post at some distance from the ruka, but directly in line with the entrance. In some instances this is done today. Each evening the horse is unsaddled and allowed to roam, to be resaddled and tied to the post again in the morning. On the day of burial the horse is shot and parts of it are buried with the man—a procedure described below (p. 164).

Burials today are in cemeteries. According to informants, burials have always been in cemeteries—the one in use today in Panguipulli had been an Araucanian cemetery many years previous to the arrival (1896) of the early missionaries in the area. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) each family or lineage group had its own burial ground in a grove or on a hill, not far from the dwellings.

Coffins, in Coñaripe area today, and, in many instances in Alepúe and Panguipulli areas, also, are two halves of a hewn-out log, each shaped like a dug-out canoe. Such a coffin is called trolof. "The hollow in each half had to take care of half the body." Bodies not buried in trolof are buried in boxes made of planks. Planks are carried to the grave on the shoulders of men, at the time the body is taken there for interment, and nailed together at the grave. Children, including babies, are buried like adults—"it is a touching thing to see the body of a baby taken off its cradle and laid into a trolof."

If a trolof is used as a coffin, the preliminaries to burial are usually traditional ones. The body is placed in one of the halves, and food is placed in the trolof about the head, and clothes and such personal belongings as a man's silver saddle ornaments are placed about the rest of the body. Doing this is called rokiñtun (making provisions for a journey). "If it is a schoolboy we are burying, we put his books and pencils with him and anything else that was his. Now, as formerly, we bury with the body tortillas, toasted wheat, a little container with muday, bread, meat, a small plate, and always some of the favorite foods of the dead person, possibly a watermelon. Formerly, at the grave, just before burial, the trolof was opened and all who had slaughtered an animal during the wake placed a small piece of kidney or liver near the body. We put the food there because the spirit of the departed wants to eat, too. No, the spirit of the food does not go to where the spirit of the person is, nor do we bring food to the grave after the burial, like you say the Chippewa of your country do, and most certainly we did not put food on the outside of the coffin. That would have been a stupid thing to do." Two little girls present at the interview volunteered: "Yes, and they do that today; they put some water and chicha in, too, sometimes." To which the informant responded: "Well, yes, these children saw that done a year ago for a young man, but it was done only because his mother was an old-timer and believed strictly in the old ways, and wanted it done."

This done the other half of the trolof is placed in position and the two halves securely bound together with vine.

As recently as 1939, men on horseback rode around the outside of the ruka before the body was removed, "so that the spirit will leave the house joyfully. It was done in this area [Coñaripe] as long as the old men lived; all of our old men are dead now, and we shall probably no longer do it." The non-Araucanian teacher who attended the wake of the schoolboy (previously recounted) was advised on the day of the funeral, by one of those present, to walk to the cemetery while they prepared to bring the boy's body. "I did so," she said. "Soon I heard something going on at the ruka. I looked back and saw men on horseback galloping around it. Later they told me that they had carried out an old custom."

Formerly, the trolof was dragged to the place of burial by men; at the present time, a pair of oxen draws it. In the instance of the 12-year-old boy, the two halves of the trolof were borne to the cemetery on an oxcart drawn by a pair of oxen, while men followed carrying the body on a ladderlike frame on their shoulders, and relatives followed these men. Sometimes today, and always formerly, men on

704 horseback galloped about such a procession until its arrival at the cemetery. Upon arriving at the cemetery a grave is dug by relatives—"it has always been a custom that relatives do so"—and the trolof is placed in it. Formerly the grave was so shallow that the top of the trolof showed above the ground. Today all burials are beneath the surface of the earth.

If the deceased was a man, his saddled horse—the horse that had been tied near his ruka during the wake—was led to the place of burial, behind the body of the man. At the burial place the saddle was laid on the trolof, the horse strangled, then stabbed, its blood caught and poured on the trolof, and its hide stripped off and laid aside to be placed over the burial. The meat was then divided among all those present. Next a sheep was strangled and laid alongside the trolof. "The spirit of the man needs these things for his travels. We do not believe this now, but we did believe it formerly. I saw all this done," said a 52-year-old Coñaripe man. His 76-year-old relative, a collaborator, added, "I have seen it done many times, here and elsewhere. That was one of our customs. One seldom sees it done now." If the deceased was a cacique, his horse was killed, and its blood poured into the trolof and not over it. The legs of the horse were also cut off and put into the trolof. Unless the entire animal was buried with the cacique, as sometimes happened, only relatives ate the meat of the horse. An attempt at killing a horse was made (1939) at the burial of the 12-year-old-boy. As soon as his grave had been dug the lower half of the trolof was lowered into the grave, then the boy's body, and next the cover of the trolof. Lassos were used to do the lowering. Relatives were about to strangle the boy's horse when one of the most respected Araucanians and a Chilean friend of his stepped forward and objected, saying that it was cruel to strangle an animal, and that certainly today such a custom should no longer be carried out; that if the horse were strangled, authorities would be notified. The horse was not killed. It was intended that one-half of the horse be buried with the boy and the other half divided among persons present.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) horses were killed over the grave of a man as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles. Also, according to Cooper, the trolof of a cacique was sometimes raised off the ground, wedged in trees or placed on heavy forked posts. Cooper found in his sources no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and transporting the ashes back for burial. My informants had not heard of either practice. 764

The burial of the 17-year-old Alepúe youth (see p. [illegible]) is probably a sample of burials in a plank box—an acculturated type of burial more Chilean than Araucanian. Approximately 30 families, all but six of those who had been expected, had come to the wake. The informant, a relative of the deceased young man, named these and added that the previous year a brother of the deceased had had a fist fight with a man of one of the absent families; everybody knew that for that reason this particular family was not present; but why the other families had not attended, he did not know. Before the body was removed from the ruka, it was laid into a coffin made of planks, "like the Chileans make them," and into the coffin were placed a pair of tennis shoes—"they had put his best shoes on him"—all washable things and his poncho; "in fact everything that had belonged to him personally." His hat lay on his body, not on his head. No food was put into the coffin. "Formerly we did that—we generally put in a container with water or chicha, 12 small pieces of bread fried in grease, and 2 portions of meat of the animal that was slaughtered for the wake. In this case it would have been 2 pieces of this young man's young cow, for that cow was slaughtered at the wake."

Twenty men, one of them a brother of the deceased, walked to the cemetery; four of these carried the coffin on their shoulders; four carried a lighted candle each—one of those that had been burning over the body during the wake; others carried the planks from which a rough box was to be made at the grave. "We do not have a rough box for every burial, but we did for this man." Upon arrival at the cemetery, the brother of the young man pointed out the burial place and the men set to work to dig the grave, taking turns digging. "Always the grave is 1½ meters deep." Two men made the rough box. The coffin was placed into the rough box, the box lowered into the grave by means of a lasso, dirt shoveled back into the grave, and then all went home. The family, except the one brother, had stayed at home. In Alepúe area women and children seldom attend a burial; this is not true of Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas. "Most certainly do all the women and children go to the burial," said a Coñaripe woman; "they usually leave their last tears there. If someone comes to the ruka to comfort them later, however, tears may again flow."

Today, a grave is overlaid with earth, and then, in Coñaripe area, with logs, or is surrounded by an oblong frame of upright boards and the space within planted with flowers or merely allowed to be overgrown with grass; in Alepúe area a gabled one-room house, 4 to 5 feet

764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[776 Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be burnt—something which was not done in Alepúe area. 766

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, and a black band around one arm by the men. In Coñaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans." 766 177

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed. 124

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the following (1946, pp. 724-725): 150

> There was no paramount over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 270-274).
>
> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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[illegible] ordinarily succeeded him. If the eldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly,
622 the ülmen, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for
627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as kapin. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgados de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has
been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by
648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the
621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu
[423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kupém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martin; Pelluco, family Inigo; Mehuín, families Huechuman, Mancelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

Conihué; and Queño, "but Queño has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." 621

In Alepúe area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

[63] In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization called aillarewe for such joint activities as the gillatun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An aillarewe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the aillarewe.

Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his grandfather, Antahel Huentu, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The grandfather feared that the knowledge of these would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the grandfather's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite these from memory.

622 Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran mapu met. [562] Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of."

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepúe area died (1941), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Lienlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a gillatun. Hualme, the late cacique of Mehuín, had no son to inherit his position, so the eldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Panguipulli was [illegible]

10: Hilger E-1 (1946-1952) 1957

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[2]

Table 9.—Winca mapu and their caciques in Chile and Argentina from "very, very, very early times," according to [illegible]

[23.

Winca mapu	Caciques	Winca mapu	Caciques
	CHILE		
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		ARGENTINA
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible], son of		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible], and		[illegible]
	then the son of	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]*		[illegible]
	[illegible], and then	[illegible]	[illegible], who
	the son of [illegible]		died in war
	[illegible]*		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		

* Indicates man not of direct line of caciques, but a choice of the people.

[illegible]; for Coñaripe, [illegible]; for Calafquén, Katriel; for [illegible], Marino [illegible]; for [illegible], Dario [illegible]. 622

At present a man may legitimately hold the office of cacique because he has inherited it, and the people may recognize him as their leader, but unless the Chilean authorities also recognize him as the cacique, his position is weak. In all areas this was spoken of. A non-Araucanian noted that as recently as 1940 the Chilean Government gave full support to the two caciques in Alepúe area, Andrés Lienlaf and José Martín, two highly respected old men, but that the word of those who have succeeded them seems to carry less weight.

[illegible], the 58-year-old cacique of Coñaripe, who was recognized by his people as their cacique, told of the formal recognition by the Chilean Government: "The last recognized cacique for Coñaripe was my father, Carlos [illegible]. He died in 1942; he was older than 100 years then. My grandfather, great-grandfather, and their fathers before them had all been caciques. Always a son of a previous cacique was recognized as the cacique. A brother older than myself should have been the cacique at my father's death. He was better educated than I am and he had had experience in matters of ruling the people which I have not had—he had helped my father in such matters. But this brother died. Then I became my father's interpreter—my father did not speak Spanish. When my father died, the people here recognized me as their cacique. I was also encouraged to be their cacique by a Chilean who built the road through here. He told me to fill my father's place as cacique so that the Mapuche here would not be without a head. However, before I am established in the position, I must receive notification from the Chilean Government—and here is how this is being done: The Chilean who represents our interests in Pitrufquén in the court of justice for Indians there must refer the matter to the Government officials in Valdivia responsible for Indian problems; this, I believe, he has done. The governor of the Province of Valdivia—we live in the Province of Valdivia—will be informed of the matter and will probably approve of it. His approval will be returned to me through the Chilean offices of Lanco and then those of Panguipulli—Coñaripe is in the Panguipulli subdelegación. I will then be notified, and after that I am the cacique."

In the interim, however, he functioned as the cacique. He called a meeting of the men of his witran mapu for February 9, 1947, to discuss the division of land owned in common by them, and also to take action regarding the trespassing on the land by men from another witran mapu. More than 50 men from Coñaripe and Llíuco met—men of all ages, including very old men and some teen-agers. No 622 623

622 women attended. The meeting was held in the shade of a grove of tall trees near the cacique's ruka and lasted three hours. All men might 623 have expressed an opinion—only seven did so; all talking was done in Araucanian. Quoting the cacique: "Some of the land under discussion is already being occupied and is being tilled; some is still heavily wooded. Much of the land is on the Cerro Trailelhueno, just to the right of the Volcano Villarrica. [He sketched the location: a valley in the Andes within the shadow of the Volcano Villarrica.] The total land involved is about 5,000 hectar [12,000 acres]. All the families can now think the matter over until March 15—we decided to hold the next meeting on that day. We hope on that day to agree on the manner of dividing it. When we have agreed, our decision must be sent to the Chilean office in Pitrufquén and from there it will be sent to the Ministerio de Tierra in Santiago. I know that the land that I now cultivate here in Coñaripe is too small to be divided among my six children [pl. 20, *c*], so that each can live off it when married; I intend to ask for a piece on the Cerro. Others have expressed the same convictions about their land and families. In the Chilean census of 1940, we were approximately 400 Mapuche souls in Coñaripe—among ourselves we reckon by *families*: we were 190 fathers of families then."

622 If the authority of a cacique is not respected by the people, or if the Chilean Government has not recognized the cacique as representing his people, an outstanding Araucanian may take over when a need arises, especially in dealing with the Chilean Government. "A year or so ago, we had a meeting at which we decided to petition the Chilean Government for a road. One of our best men, not the cacique, wrote out a petition, and others signed it. (Our cacique is a man of limited experience and deals with the people only at the ngillatun.) Then two men, well able to speak, took the petition to the civil authorities in San José [de Mariquina]."

Occasions have arisen at which the Chilean Government appointed an Araucanian other than the cacique to act as liaison. "Several years ago when many of the Mapuche here in Coñaripe, including the cacique, spoke no Spanish, the Chilean authorities asked that a Mapuche with whom they could deal be placed in authority here (land problems were being discussed). The civil authorities in Lanco appointed my husband. He had spent 8 years in the Mission school in Panguipulli and one year in a school in Valdivia. Everyone respected his judgment; his judgment is still highly respected by all today."

A cacique had no emblem of power. He was easily distinguishable, however, in any gathering by a stone, called an ül'me kurá (ül'me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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Plowing: 1, A wooden plow in the making (Alepúe). 2, One type of wooden plow (Alepúe). 3, Another type (Coñaripe).

[p. 172 (A)]

[41]

Harvesting: 1, Children cutting grain with sickle (Coñaripe). 2, Loading grain onto an oxcart (Coñaripe). 3, A lila (fenced-in area) in which grain is threshed by tramping horses (Alepúe).

[p.172(B)]

10: Hilger B-3 (1946-1952) 1957
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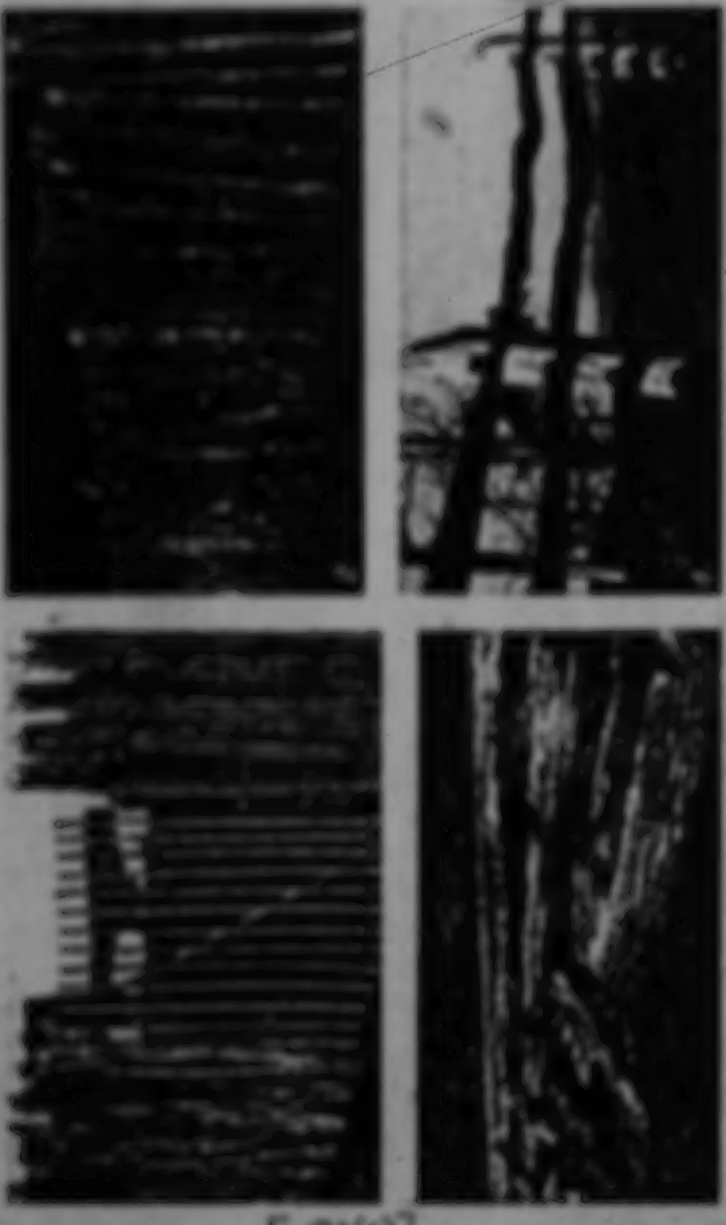
Chile



Plates: 1. Chicken yard (Boroa). 2. Garden (Coñaripe). 3. Sheep pasture (Coñaripe). 4. Cattle pasture (Alepúe).

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[j-nu(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[p.172D]

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Fences, and the araucaria pine: 1, Chicken-yard fence (Alepúe). 2, Cattle pasture fence (Alepúe). 3, A young non-fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Coñaripe). 4, A fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Panguipulli).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[p. 172(E)]

Transportation on horseback: 1, Alepúe man. 2, Details of the saddle (Alepúe). (Note wilal, carrying basket.) 3, Coñaripe woman rider.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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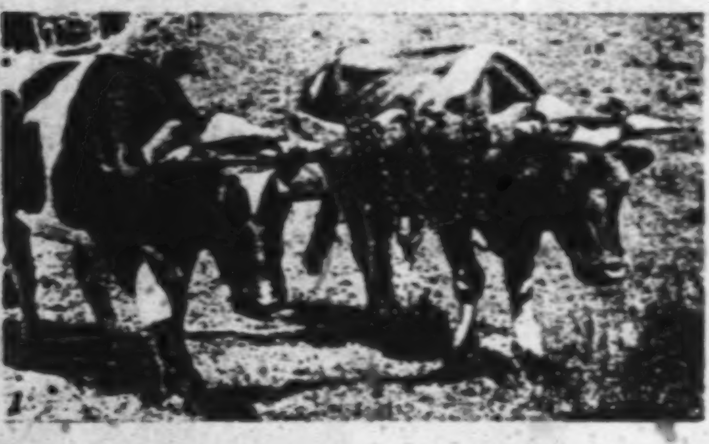

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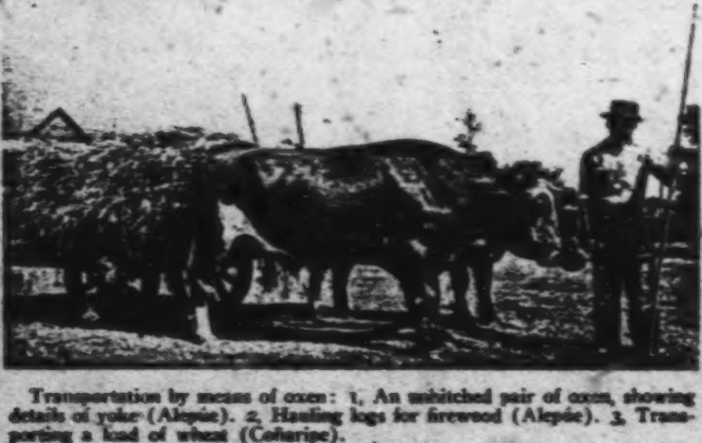

Transportation by means of oxen: 1, An unhitched pair of oxen, showing details of yoke (Alepúe). 2, Hauling logs for firewood (Alepúe). 3, Transporting a load of wheat (Coñaripe).

[p. 172 (F)]

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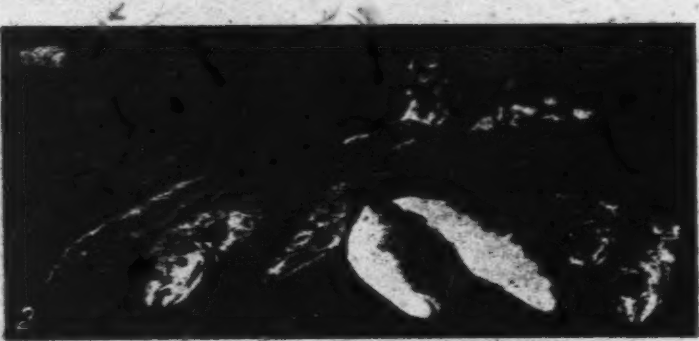
Sheep, and transportation: 1. A flock of sheep in Coñaripe. 2. Transportation by oxcart (Alepúe). (Note wheels of tree-trunk sections.) 3. Dugout used in transporting persons across the Río Llanquihue in Coñaripe.

[p. 172 (G)]



Fishing in the Pacific Ocean (Alepúe): 1, Two fishermen landing their boat. 2, Their day's catch—a disappointing one. 3, Fish being cured on lines in air and sun.

[p. 172 (H)]

chief; kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, *a*), 622 and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, *b*). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ül'ṃe kurá. Why he did so I do not know."

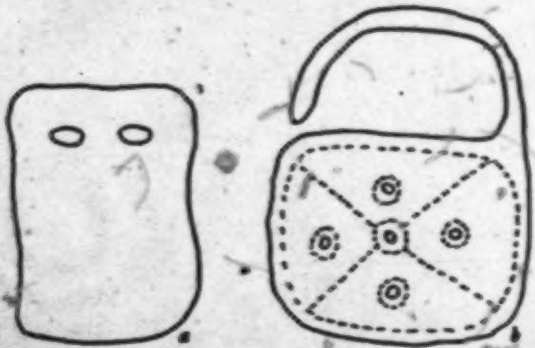


FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: *a*, An ül'me ku[illegible] stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father S[illegible]redo Fraunhäusl of Panguipulli.) *b*, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND ORDER

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ŋillatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Coñaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Coñaripe-Lliuco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Lliuco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 657 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

666 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

but the Government has never paid me anything. I object to this. God gave the earth to all men, and we should not have to pay anyone for the right to own a piece of it. He also made people to defend themselves and their rights. But it is difficult to find out where to go to defend our rights or to find out who is to blame. At present they say the Communists are in power and are to blame; before that they used to say it was the strong trying to defeat the weak." 651

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE

The Araucanians are an agricultural and grazing people. Ownership of land was institutional. Land owned lay within one's witran mapu—a witran mapu being a specific area occupied by a particular kunpém—that is, a group of families. Within the witran mapu each family laid claim to ownership of pieces of land which it cultivated and to others which it used as grazing land. Portions of land so owned by a family were apportioned by the father to each of his sons, as each one married; these in turn gave of their land to their children; and so on. It is because of this division of land that in time all families in an area were at least distantly related. 423

All recognized the right of a person to the ownership of lands claimed by him if he erected on it a ruka and also either cultivated the land or used it for grazing his cattle, or, if it was wooded, cleared it of forests. In general, ruka were some distances apart; only occasionally were two or three close together. As previously stated, there were no villages.

The ownership of lands was recorded on charts which were—and [217] still are—kept in the possession of the cacique. It was the cacique's duty to see that there was equity in the distribution of land. In fact, he had the right to transfer to someone in need—if this person was a member of the witran mapu—land from someone who possessed more than it was thought he needed or who laid claim to more than the assembled fathers of families thought he ought to claim. This is no longer a matter of the cacique's jurisdiction, "now that we are under Chilean law."

Land owned by families today is marked off by fences or by natural boundaries, such as creeks, rivers, ravines and forests.

Land in the witran mapu not claimed by any individual was owned in common by the kunpém—a custom which still exists among the Araucanians, but which is causing unrest among politically-minded Chileans who are of the opinion that such lands should be on the

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423 market for sale. Such land is called kiñe mapu. Anyone wishing to do so today, as formerly, will clear a portion of the common land, cultivate it or graze his animals upon it, and thereby claim it, as already stated. A non-Araucanian Alepúe herbalist had heard children say, "My father cleared that piece and that piece and that piece [pointing at cleared areas on mountain sides], and that is why we own all that land." Clearing was, and is, done by burning (pl. 1, *1*).

No one appropriates exclusive rights, however, to lands on which the araucaria grows—a pine, the nuts of which are a traditional staple food (cf. p. 205). The same holds true for banks of rivers from which fishing is done, for the shores of the Pacific where seafoods are gathered, and for coves on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are landed and docked.

A Coñaripe man explained the acquisition of communal lands by individuals thus: "Much land in Coñaripe area, which includes also the land in the area known as Lihero, has not been assigned; it is all still owned in common. We still have about 5,000 hectares [12,000 acres, approximately] of such land up in the mountains. The Chileans call land owned in common, comuna; the Mapuche call it kiñe mapu. Fathers of families do not know how much of it should belong to each of them. Anybody from this area has the right to clear a piece of land on which clearing has not already been begun. By that I mean my neighbor, for instance, would not b[illegible] clear or claim land near a place where I had begun a clearing, [illegible] would I clear a piece of land near his. This is done so that people can eventually add land to that which is near their homes. Once the land is cleared and cultivated everyone knows to whom it belongs, and its ownership is marked off on the cacique's chart. Everybody always cultivates the same land, but not every piece of that land each year; [illegible] one piece after another lie fallow for a year. Before I married, I lived on the other side of the river with my brother, and I cleared a piece of land there, and I own that land now. The father of the woman I married had given her a piece of his land—land that he had been cultivating. When we married, we built our ruka on that land, for my land could only be reached by crossing the river. My wife owns her land by right of radicación [an expression used by Chileans, meaning rights associated with birthplace, habitat, or ancestral rights of ownership] and I own mine across the river by the same right and in addition to that by the right of clearing it [the former a Chilean right, the latter, an Araucanian one]. Radicación was recently applied to Araucanians; it gives a woman the right to own land. It was introduced when I was about as old as he [5 years old, approximately, in 1901]. Formerly, only sons

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inherited land; in those days when a man married, he and his wife lived with the man's parents until he had selected for himself a piece of land from that which his father offered him or he had cleared a piece for himself, at least partially, and thereby laid claim to it." Today, according to Chilean law, both sons and daughters inherit land. According to Chilean law, also, the ownership of land must be recorded with Chilean officials. "Ours is not so recorded, neither mine nor my wife's," said the above Coñaripe informant. "But we are entitled to land in this area, as I said, and no one can take this right from us—we were born here. All Mapuche entitled to land in this area were recorded with the old cacique, but not with the Chilean authorities. Since the cacique's death, his son has the list." With a firm voice and determined conviction he added: "No stranger can come in here, neither Mapuche nor Chilean, and own land. A stranger can only cultivate land on shares, that is, the Mapuche who owns a piece of land can let the stranger plant it for the price of half the harvest, or for at least a share of the harvest. Four years ago a Mapuche family came in here from Calafquén and cultivated land in this way." 423

In Coñaripe area then (1947), because ownership of land is not recorded with the Chilean Government, owners of land had no Chilean deed to their land; in Alepúe area, most men do have a deed. A 39-year-old Alepúe man told the manner of obtaining land in his area and getting a deed to it. "If a Mapuche wishes to claim a piece of land," he said, "he builds a ruka on it, clears some land around it and uses it for fields and gardens. By the time he gets this done, he has decided how many hectares he wants. He draws a plan showing the location of the land and takes it to the Oficina de Tierra de Colonoción in Valdivia. This office will send a civil engineer to locate the land and to make certain that it belongs to no one else. The Mapuche is then given a deed to the land. There has been no difficulty with the Chilean Government, up to now, about this." He went on, then, to tell of the restrictions on clearing the land: "The greatest difficulty at present is to get the land cleared. Without permission from the Oficina de Forestal in Valdivia, no one is allowed to burn down forests—our way of clearing the land. Three years ago fires got out of control because of the puelche [strong east wind] that came up unexpectedly and spread over large tracts. Families were surrounded by fire and could not be reached. The night was as light as daytime. Harvests and pastures and cattle were burnt. In several places underground fires continued to spread and burnt the roots of grass causing a dire scarcity of grass the following winter. One Mapuche was herding 241 423 731

423 241 731 a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 90 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of 423 648 land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kumpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder like to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschitz, 1948, pp. 321-326.) 423 648

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for as many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.) [551]

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grain were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko kachu. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko kachu. Each family took along several pelts of the 222

[138] Each family took along several pelts of the

232 llama—the llama was an animal that lived around in the Mapuche country then; it was like a sheep, he said, but its pelt was not as heavy as a sheep's. They pulled off the ears of the grass by hand, collected [412] them on the pelts, folded the pelts, and each man carried peltfuls of them home, slung across his shoulder. They collected heads of the wheat in the same way in those days, and we sometimes collect it in the same manner today."

243 A 19-year-old girl in Coñaripe collected wheat by this method while I was there. Her family's 1946 stored wheat supply had been depleted, and the grain in the fields was not ready to be harvested—only scattered ears had ripened. The girl walked through the wheat field (pl. 47, 1), grasped a few ripened ears here and a few there with each hand (little finger toward the earth), broke the ears off the stalk, and when a hand could hold no more, dropped them into a basket which she was carrying on her arm. When the basket was nearly full, she straddled the handle and packed the ears down with both feet, and when it could hold no more, she walked home. There she poured a portion of the ears into a wooden dish, placed the dish on the ground close to a tree trunk, stepped on the grain, supporting herself by clutching the ends of two branches on the trunk of a tree, and threshed the grain with her feet (pl. 47, 2). Threshing grain in this manner is called *fowikipen*. The movements of her feet, used alternately for probably three movements, were quick and somewhat rhythmic. With each movement she brought the ears of grain into the middle of the dish by means of her toes and the side of the foot. "When my mother fowikipen, she sings a song; I don't know the words, but I can hum the melody." And she did. After some time she emptied the wooden dish into a winnowing tray, shook the tray, and then by brushing the surface with her hand sorted out ears that were not completely threshed. Such ears she threw back into the wooden dish to be threshed. The kernels she poured into a basket (pl. 47, 3). She then threshed the remainder of the ears. The threshing of the entire harvest was completed in three installments. Next she walked into an open space to winnow the kernels—a place evidently used for that purpose, for chaff and dry pea shells were lying about. She had barely begun to winnow when small pigs came to eat the refuse. Noticing the direction of the wind, she sat on a log with her back toward it, poured kernels onto the winnowing tray, and then with intriguing skill she shook the kernels simultaneously up and down, forward and back, and from side to side, focusing her eyes on the farther edge of the tray where the kernels began to collect as they separated from the chaff. When a goodly number had collected there,

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they began to move backward along the edge of both sides of the tray. 243
While the kernels were thus on the move, the wind removed the chaff. Occasionally the girl halted to throw off ears that turned up, and to stir the kernels with her hands to find more. When chaff and ears had been removed from all, she poured the kernels into a basket and walked back to the ruka to prepare them for the family's midday meal. (Cf. pp. 208-209 for the preparation of them.) Threshing and winnowing took 40 minutes.

Today, every family that has a right to own land in an area raises wheat on one or several pieces of it, either on burnt-over land or in natural glades. These differ in size and shape (pls. 1; 35, 1 and 2). No informant knew how much land he had under cultivation. Pointing out his fields, he might say, "I believe I have about two daros here, and one over there. Daro is a word we got from the Chileans, and is used only at harvest time. It is a piece of land, the amount of grain on which approximates what a man can cut by hand in a day. We use it only when hiring a man to help us." A woman listening in interjected, "If one hurries a little, two daros can be cut in one day." "In this area [Coñaripe] a daro is a piece of land approximately 80 meters square." A Boroa man stretched an arm, and [423] noted that from his chest to the tip of his hand approximated a vara, and added, "I think a daro is 70 by 50 varas. In our area, because of the contour of the land, a daro is usually longer than it is wide." [241 Fields are not fertilized, but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two years.

Agricultural implements formerly used, according to Guevara, were 241 a wooden pick (chepud) made either of luma or temu, a wooden spade, and perforated stones (cutacura). (Cf. Guevara, 1929, pp. 313-320 for complete description.) Cutacura were used in crumbling lumps of earth turned up with pick or spade. Although metal hoes and spades have replaced the wooden ones, all three wooden implements were seen during the present study, and were being used in gardening. Fields were being plowed with plows drawn by oxen (pl. 3a). There were a few plows with an iron share; all others had wooden shares. Neighbors borrowed plows from each other.

Wheat was the only small grain I saw cultivated. Seeding is done 243 by hand. If a man does not have sufficient seed, another will arrange with him for the amount he needs, in which case the harvest is shared, in accordance with an old custom. In Boroa area, "If one man furnishes the land and another the seed, each receives half of the harvest; if each furnishes half the seed, and one the land, each also receives half the harvest." In Coñaripe, while I was there, one man furnished

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243 the land and another did the seeding; each furnished two sacks of wheat, that is, half of the seed needed. "And today we harvested the grain, six sacks in all—a profit of one sack for each of us. It is a poor harvest." Another informant owned land but no oxen and no seed. He had to give up his oxen as payment on a mortgage. A neighbor plowed the land and furnished the seed. Both men together seeded the land, and together they harvested it. Each got one-half of the harvest. When I asked a man if his wife seeded the land that belonged to her, he answered somewhat indignantly, "The land may belong to her, but after all she does not rule over it; the man does that." [illegible]

Fields and gardens, it is believed by many, should be planted when the moon is waxing. "It is the only time that the moon has strength." If rain interferes when the moon is waxing, planting should then be done between the first quarter and full moon; never at full moon, new moon, or when there is no moon.

Complaints were made in all areas against small green-colored parrots (choroy, [illegible]) that come in large flocks, practically every year, immediately after the wheat has been planted, and do much damage by picking the kernels from the soil. Small children are sent to run back and forth in the fields to keep the parrots on the wing. "Finally the parrots get angry, give much back talk and fly away," said a little girl, quite amused.

Wheat, in the early days, was harvested by plucking the ears by hand, as previously described. Today it is cut with an iron sickle secured in a wooden handle. The spread of the opening of a sickle, observed in use in Coñaripe area, was 7 inches; the handle 5 inches in length. The cutting edge of the blade had been serrated with a knife and was kept keen with a porous stone of volcanic origin found in the area.

The one who cuts the wheat grasps a half dozen stalks, more or less, with one hand a little below the ear (with little finger toward the earth), applies the sickle about 6 inches below the little finger, bends the stalks over the sickle away from the body, pulls the sickle toward the body, cuts the ears off, and lays them to the side, on stubbles. When enough grain has been cut to fill two outstretched arms, someone passes along, piles it up, and carries it by armfuls to an oxcart (pl. 35, *1*, *2*). This is done if the grain is thoroughly ripe; if it is not thoroughly ripe, and there is no rain forecast, it may be cut one day and hauled away the following. All members of the family, including small children, assist in harvesting. Anyone having a right to a share in the harvest of a particular field will assist in the reaping.

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Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. For cutting a [illegible], a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. dollar) in 1946, or 3½ almuds of wheat—a standard almud (a box used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans." 243 [465 804]

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being tramped upon (kullilkun) either by human beings, or by horses on hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ribs." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop." 243 533

In Alepúe area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its heads of grain by oxcart to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, *3*), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 10—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this tramping around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the ruka—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha. 243

In Coñaripe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a steam-

243 propelled threshing machine, the grain must be cut with longer stalks. A Coñaripe man, five of his children, ranging from 4 to 21 years in age, and a 76-year-old relative were observed harvesting a field (February 13, 1947) which had been sown by the father and the relative for equal shares at harvest time. The grain was cut very early in the day by the older persons. At about 10 o'clock, all seven persons were in the field. All but the father collected the grain into piles; each tied his pile together with either a cord or a trarihue (woven belt) and carried it to the oxcart, the small children and a 13-year-old girl carrying their bundles on the head, the old relative and a 21-year-old girl, on the shoulder. Taller persons threw their bundles onto the oxcart; the father reached for those of the shorter ones (pl. 8, 3). The father, by hand, carefully placed each bundle with ears toward the middle of the oxcart, then untied the cord or trarihue and dropped it on the ground to be used again. While waiting for bundles, he packed the ones on the oxcart by stepping on the middle of the stalks.

The father and the old relative took the load of grain to the threshing machine the following morning. After they had paid for the threshing (payment had to be in grain; money was not accepted) they netted 110 kilograms over the 80 kilograms planted in the field. Both men were depressed about the yield. They had observed that morning, while waiting at the threshing machine, that three combined oxcart loads from another valley in the Andes had produced more than 1,000 kilograms. Both men explained that the earth in Coñaripe Valley had only a thin layer of black topsoil, that one needed to dig down only a very little distance to find the beginning of a great depth of pebbles of volcanic origin. "The tillable soil of our valley is tired," one said. "It will soon be difficult to raise even peas or beans in it." Since threshing is no longer a communal affair in Coñaripe, the traditional festivity with a plentiful meal is no longer a part of the occasion.

244 Potatoes are a staple Araucanian food. Every family plants a good-sized patch of them. Where there are two sheepfolds, these are used in alternate years for the planting. The entire family generally helps with this operation. The man, or a son old enough to know how, plows the soil, if the patch is located where this can be done, or spades it. He, his wife, and older boys and girls then hoe the ground into hills, in which the potatoes are planted. If no sheep corral is used, the smaller children of the family scamper across the pastures and collect cow and sheep manure and place some on each hill. Weeding during the growing season is usually done by the man or an older son.

A vegetable garden is as essential for every household. Vegetables include squashes, cabbage, lettuce, peas, beans, carrots, multiple

onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. 244
Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, origano, and tomillo. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me; I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Coñaripe man: "Yes, the effect [illegible]
does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon."

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. 245
Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an 247
occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Coñaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, snapdragons, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few homes had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 10, 1.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, HORSES

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 702-703) domesticated 231
animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

[illegible] llama and alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Spanish cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. None of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only infrequently by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [illegible] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to [illegible] Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [illegible] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process [illegible] from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after [illegible] they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property."

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, sheepskins and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and sheepskins as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sarna, a disease that causes them to lose their wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine. 236

235 Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particolored tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alepúe woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean home could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 2a, 3). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If [illegible] she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka.

231 Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the intruding person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his bark sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs." A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is chased out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them."

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "tsk" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

231 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

417 Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 233 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 422 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

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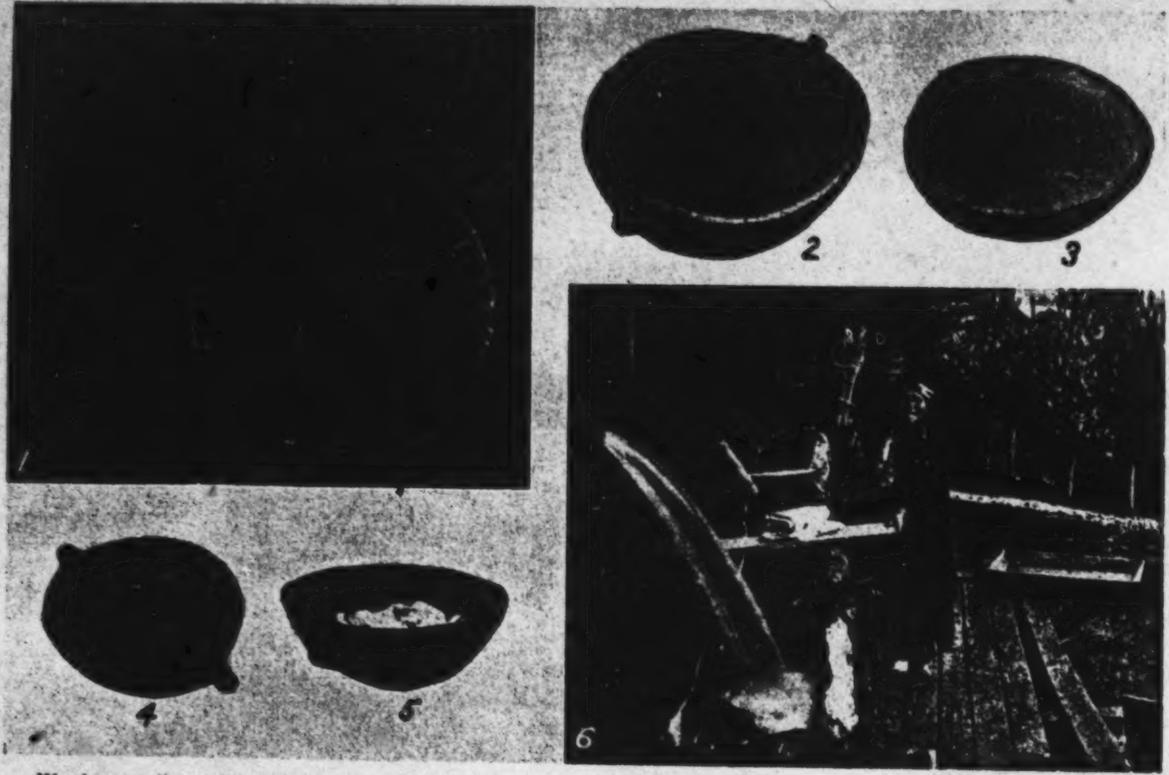
[P. 188(A)]



Wooden utensils: 1, Two tubs and a spoon (Alepúe). 2-5, Wooden dishes. (Figures 2-4 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile; 5, Alepúe.) 6, Wooden trough (right) and wooden ladle (in woman's hand) used in washing clothes. (Picture bought in Temuco.)

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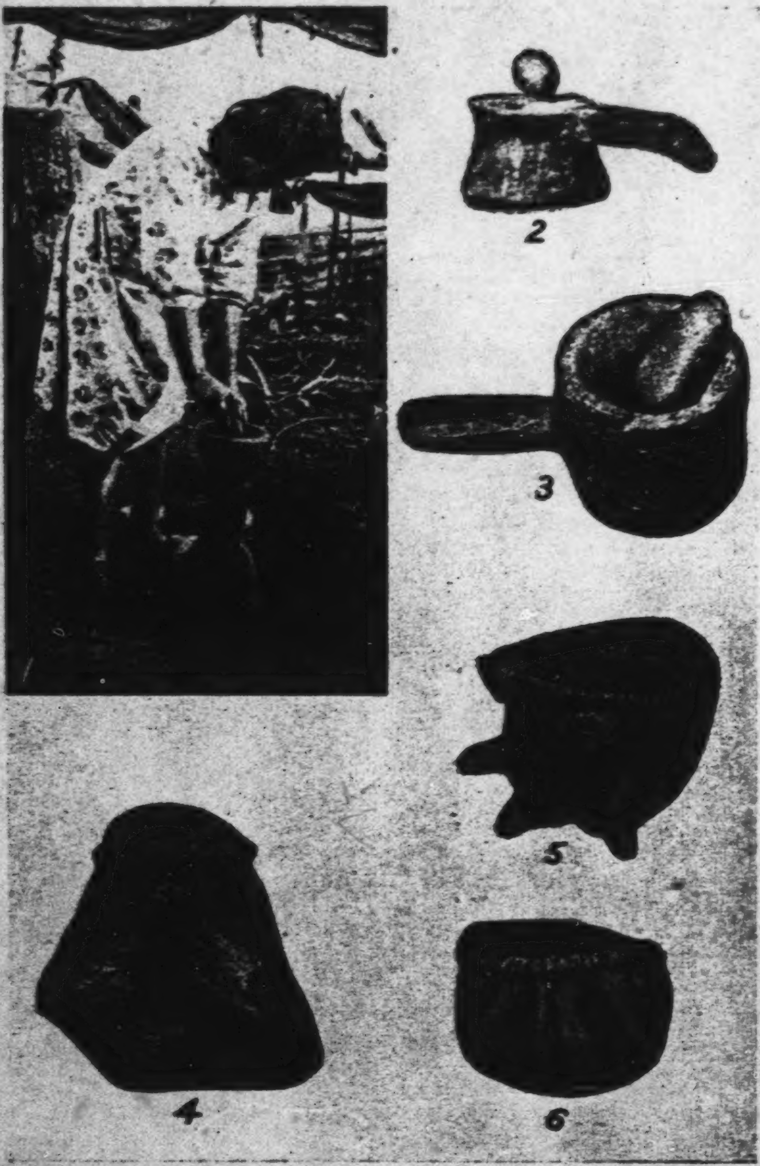

Cooking utensils: 1, Alepúe girl mixing chili and salt with pestle and mortar. 2, In use in Alepúe, and 3, other types of pestle and mortar. 4-6, Paunches and udders of cattle and sheep, generally used for storing salt, chili, and grease. (Figures 3-6 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

[p. 188(B)]

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Food preparation: 1, Coñaripe woman cleaning sheep's head in running water. 2, Alepúe woman winnowing wheat. 3, Alepúe woman grinding wheat with a muller on a metate.

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Pottery: 1, Various types in use in Alepúe area. 2-4, Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.

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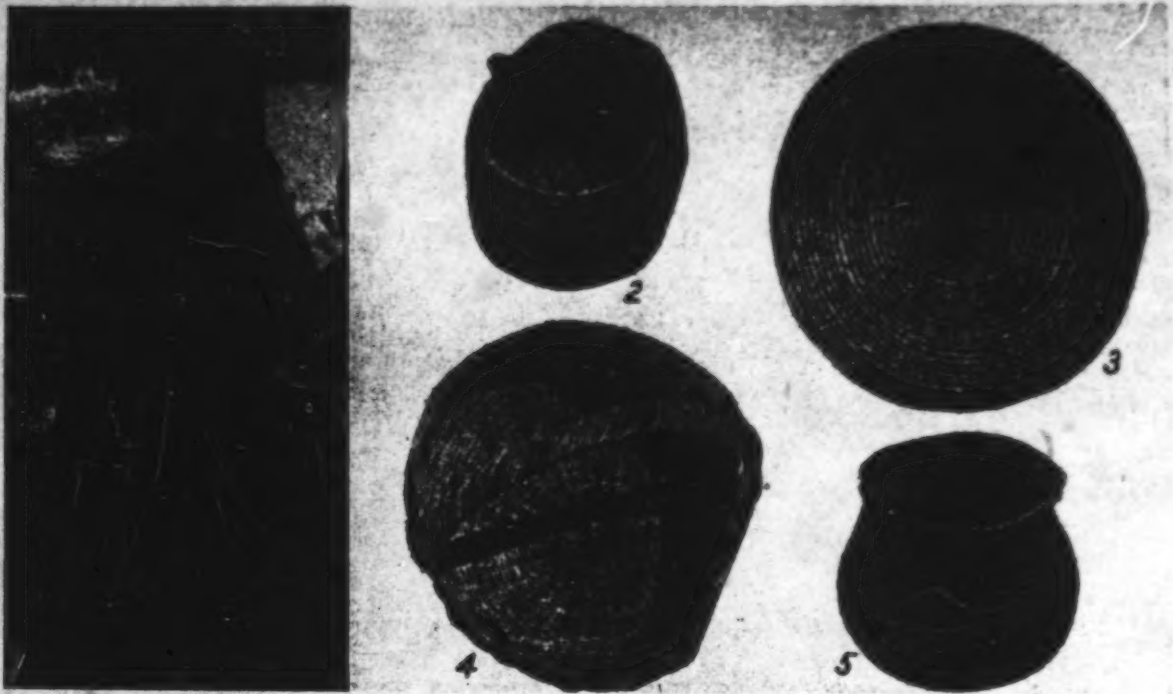

Basketry: 1, Coñaripe woman weaving a külko, used for carrying and storage. 2, A tightly woven basket, probably used for storage. (Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.) 3, Winnowing tray (Alepúe). 4, A carrying and storage basket (Coñaripe). 5, A basket (chaiwe) used as a filter, strainer, and drainer (Coñaripe).

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[p.188(E)]

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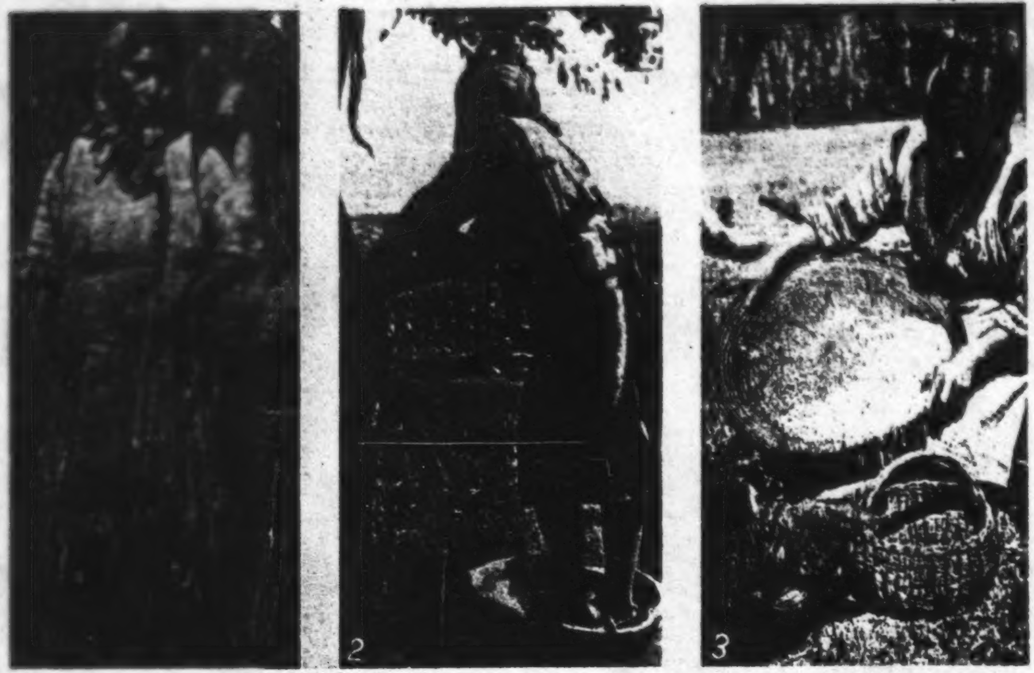

Making mote from wheat (Coñaripe): 1, Collecting ears of wheat. 2, Threshing wheat with the feet. 3, Winnowing the kernels.

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Making mote (continued): 1, Sifting ashes. 2, Pouring sifted ashes into boiling water. 3, Pouring winnowed wheat into boiling water and ashes.

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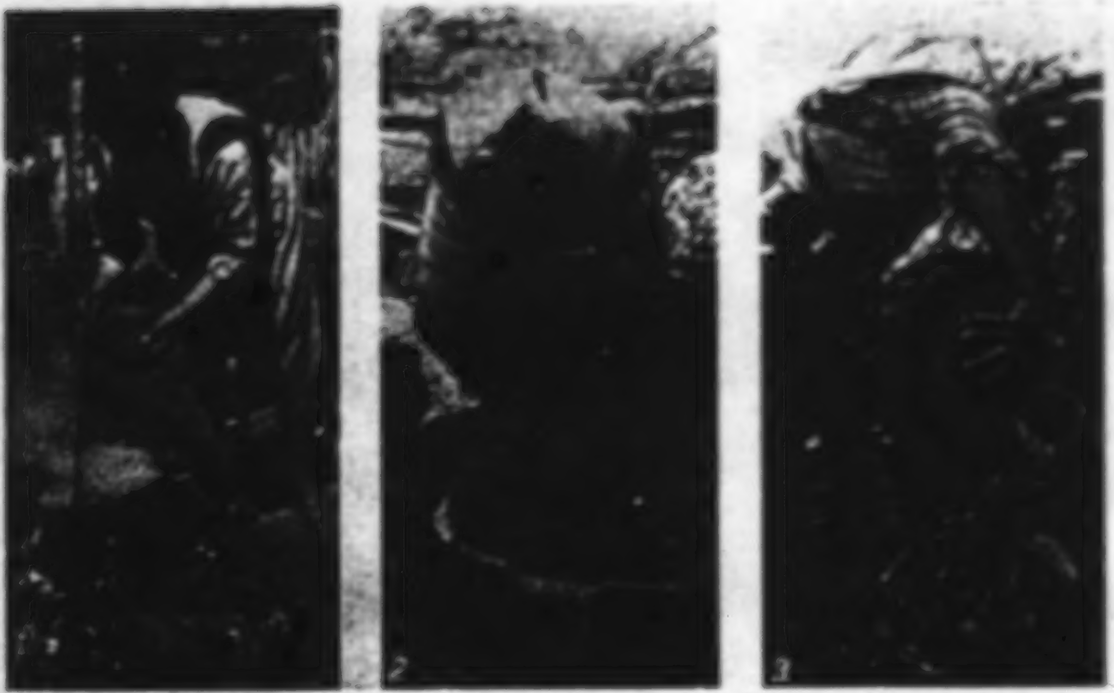
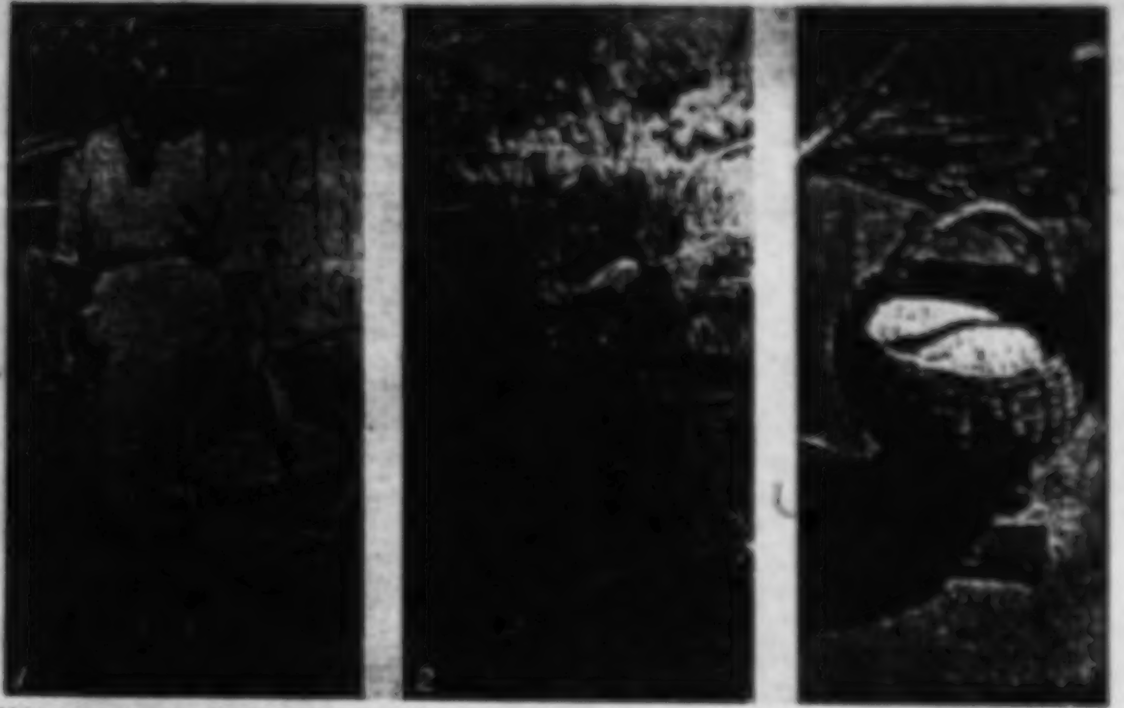


Making mote (continued): 1, Testing kernels. 2, Cooling cooked kernels. 3, Pouring cooked kernels into a basket.

[p. 188 (H)]

[p.188(I)]



Making mote (continued): 1, On the way to the spring to wash ashes off kernels. 2, Washing ashes off kernels. 3, Mote now ready to eat.

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[illegible]

[p. 198(J)]

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down together! He knows he is taking a chance of falling between the horses and getting caught." 233

It is one of the chores of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals, often from birth. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Araucanian children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 231 [illegible]

Table 9.—Child ownership of domestic animals

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (child's statement)
[illegible]-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults.
[illegible]-year-old boy	One horse called [illegible], one old cow, two oxen.
[illegible]-year-old boy	One horse called [illegible], one young white cow, one old cow and her little cow calf.
[illegible]-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf.
[illegible]-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog. "I call the dog *[illegible]*."
[illegible]-year-old boy	One sheep, one horse, one hen, one goose.
[illegible]-year-old girl	One old cow with a little [illegible] calf, two young white cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks.
[illegible]-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him [illegible]."
[illegible]-year-old boy	One cow, one hen, and an ox called [illegible].
[illegible]-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one cow.
9-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens.

When the 9-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write these words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening in said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING, COLLECTING [illegible]

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. [illegible]), played a minor role in Araucanian economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the guanaco, the huemul or guemul, and the pudu. Birds taken were the tinamou, the [illegible], parrots, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The 224

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226 puma, too, was hunted with the help of dogs. Weapons, according to Cooper's sources, were the bow and arrow, the sling, and the two-balled bolas. Snares (Spanish, wachi) of several kinds were used in trapping birds. Cooper's sources did not mention ring snares, spring-pole and tossing-pole snares, pole and perch snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets.

Old informants told me they had noosed pumas (which they called lions), and tigers, pudú (deer), foxes, and rabbits—"in fact these destructive animals and any other four-legged animals that we wished to trap, when I was a young man"—into snares (wachi) consisting of a pole attached to a noose made of twisted horsehair to which a favorite food of the animal to be snared had been fastened as bait. Pulling at the bait caused the pole to be released, thereby contracting the noose about the animal's neck and choking it. Pumas were also trapped in enclosures. One consisting of two fences has already been described. Another consisting of a circular fence, also, was so built that a puma could peek inside and see a sheep placed there as bait. In this fence a blind-alley gangway, about the size of a puma, was built to look like an entrance. The puma entered it to get at the sheep, and when it found it could not reach the sheep it backed out. Thereupon, a man lying in wait for it stabbed it with a spear.

My informants thought that a systematic hunt by the old methods should be inaugurated to rid the area of pumas. "For every fourth or fifth night a puma attacks a flock of sheep somewhere, or makes a desperate attempt to do so. All we do today is to protect our sheep by means of dogs. Dogs succeed, usually, in chasing a puma back into the ravines or woods, but occasionally sheep are taken. Pumas are bold, and nothing keeps them away except the ferocious bark of dogs; that is why we feed dogs still."

One night a puma returned to the Mission corral where it had devoured one sheep and sucked the blood of six others several weeks before. The following morning its tracks were everywhere in the sand in the old corral. Evidently it had not discovered the new corral, in which the sheep were now surrounded by two fences, before the dogs gave chase, as its footprints were not found there. During the night the barking of many dogs could be heard moving into the distance as they chased the puma (dogs from neighboring ruka having joined the Mission dog). In the morning neighbors came to see what damage had been done and told how their dogs had joined in the chase when the puma passed their ruka. They thought that the voices we had heard during the night were theirs, for "we kept talking to our

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sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and venow are no longer [262] seen in the areas; deer, rarely. Tigers, venow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepúe spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chileans.

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed 223 under a bolstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Panguipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the jilguero and the chanchito. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were 226 mullets, flatfish, porgies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, and, later, of hemp; with ponchos and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canelo. Hunting for whale was not reported.

Alepúe area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (kolülkalen), sierras (sawfish), and robalo (kudwa). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, *1*). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepúe area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, *3*), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are hualhuan, tineo [251] (unidentified), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available.

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed ~~with a small~~ catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1*, *2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned
[482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ½ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them
[482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths
481 lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water
480 supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

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50, *1* and *3*) or a wilal (pl. 58, *1*), a netted carrying bag (pp. 234-235); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dyeing, she carries on her back in a wilal suspended by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head. 481 482

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 54, *2*). Small things they carry in a wilal; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in its mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 35, *2*) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, *3*). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, *3*). A boy carried grass for his chicks in his poncho (pl. 7, *2*).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Alepúe area three families owned no horse; in Coñaripe area, two. 483 492

All Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride bareback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's buttocks. 492

The saddletree is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 12, *2*, and 38, *2*, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a bow front and back. Folded sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a choapino, a thickly woven, hooked and fringed cloth of wool (pl. 59, *3*). An occasional rider uses a choapino today; in general, those made today are sold, to good advantage, to Chileans who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Belts of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 12, *2*; 38); spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Blinds have never been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

492 too poor to have one so ornamented. "A poor man might have only a spur with a piece of metal, like a nail of today," said an old man. "Every man had only one spur in those days. Why should he have two? I remember those days."

482 492 Today, heavy loads, such as flour or pelts, are often transported on horseback, or if too bulky, are hauled by oxen, usually on carts. If the load is transported by horse, either the man rides with the load or puts it on the back of the horse and leads the animal by a halter. Often a load is carried on a montura de cargo (saddle for a load) which rests on the padded back of a pack horse. If the rider shares the horse, the load is divided into equal portions and put into bags woven for this purpose or into two wilal tied so they can be slung across the horse's back behind the rider. Sometimes the load is transported in a sack placed back of the rider. Often a rider, in addition to the load on his horse, carries a basket or wilal on his arm.

Fish to be taken to a Chilean market are packed tightly in a large oblong wilal or a large mesh bag, not unlike a net, between layers of leaves and long grass and are placed on a pack horse with an equal load on each side. The grass and leaves keep the heat of the sun from penetrating.

A heavy or clumsy load is hauled on a 2-wheeled cart by a pair of oxen. (Cf. pls. 39, *3*; 40, *2*.) The loads I saw hauled in this manner were stones, wheat, sacks of sugar, a quarter of beef, and cases of soft drinks to be sold at a fiesta. A few families own no oxen and must therefore borrow a pair for hauling. "If a man cannot afford to own a horse, he most certainly cannot own an ox—an ox costs about ten times the price of a horse, and one needs two oxen to work one."

Oxen are paired when hitched to the yoke for the first time and remain so during their life. Each is also given a name on this occasion, usually by the one who is doing the hitching. Should a new owner not like a name that has been given the animal, he must change it before the ox has become accustomed to being called by it. Names of pairs of oxen in Alepúe area were Bonito (pretty one) and Clavel (spotted, red and white, like a carnation); Pinto and Pinado (both were spotted and looked as if they had been painted); Figura (ill-shaped one) and Paisano (fellow countryman); Anduviste (running one) and Padeciendo (suffering one); Precioso (valuable one) and Lucero (morning star); Clavel and Bandera (flag). Araucanians call an ox manshun (from the Spanish manso) meaning quiet, meek, and lamblike—qualities, the informant said, exemplified by an ox.

600 Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and

Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and they are available. (Pls. 39, *3*; 40, *2*.) Sometimes a man makes his own oxcart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most oxcart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Coñaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel común. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the haul can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of coihüe (koiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, *1*). Since oxen will follow an oxcart trail, the driver usually 492
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, *2* and *3*.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, *2*).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chusquea sp.) and caulked with leaves of tiaca and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and [824]
buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Puya* sp., *Libocedrus chilensis* (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called fote (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepúe area when fishing

501 in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (taŋi), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

441 In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

484 462 It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

437 Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

426 Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

Araucanians have never had any currency. Chilean currency is used today; in fact it has become a necessity. It is needed to buy from Chileans necessities not produced by the family, such as men's and boys' clothing—including hats and shoes, if there is sufficient money; calico for women's and girls' waists or entire dresses, if the native dress (kəpam) is no longer worn by them; cloth for aprons; tools; dishes and cooking kettles; commercial dyes; sugar; occasionally wheat or flour. "Even the poor must sell some of their produce to buy these." If a large amount of chicha is needed, as at fiestas, baptisms, ruka building, and harvesting—where it is considered an essential—it, too, is bought from Chileans. 436

Money is obtained by supplying Chilean needs. Cattle and sheep, and, on occasions, hogs, oxen, and horses, are sold to non-Araucanian livestock dealers, mostly Chilean, who can be expected to come through the area at any time. In Alepúe area (1946) I was offered a good riding horse at the prevailing price, approximately 450 pesos ($15.00 in U. S. currency). Occasionally a family sells chickens; more often, if there is an opportunity, eggs. Eggs are used only as a subsidiary in cooking by Araucanians; chicken meat is the base for several dishes. 439

In Alepúe area a man delivered fish and other seafoods taken from the Pacific along a trade route he had established for himself, or he peddled them from house to house among Chileans in San José de Mariquina or Valdivia, or at fundos in the area. A few men dealt with Araucanian fish dealers on a commission basis; these dealers live in town and resell the fish to merchants in Valdivia. Fish sold are corbina, sierra, and robalo. Two edible algae taken from the Pacific are also marketable, namely luche and cochayuyo. A 35-year-old man and his 51-year-old sister pointed to a day's work, a 6-foot-high pile of standard-sized bundles of cochayuyo. Each bundle was 18 inches long and could be encircled by two hands. They intended to sell these in Valdivia the following day. Shellfish, called loko, mañilhue, and macha, and in July and August a special delicacy called arisos, have commercial value if they can be marketed within a day after they are collected.

The leaves of the ñocha were sold to Chileans by Alepúe men for rope manufacture, and nuts of the araucaria by Coñaripe men, to be eaten. After a good harvest, many sell wheat. Some families sell dried peas and beans.

Woven articles are sold to Chilean stores or to non-Araucanians who order them; chief among the articles are ponchos, choapinos (saddle covers), lamas (throws), and blankets. Early one morning a 21-year-old man asked me to buy a lama—he was en route on horse-

439 back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this lama, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the prettiest, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no choapino to sell.

Choapino, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a choapino, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [50 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for choapino, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the choapino that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but those Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Panguipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more choapino. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

464 In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

426 Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on oxen, land, or cattle—preferably on oxen. In Alepúe area both land and oxen were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of oxen or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Occa-

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sionally money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alepúe man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching ñandú (emu) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the ñandú with a boleodora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 464

Alepúe children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for its own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as heaters when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

352 354 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 372 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

824 Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 415 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung 251 over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen astride the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers.

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and 252 serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone 415 mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as cántaros and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles.

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichana) are approximately 16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütrü). Wooden ladles (rəshwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (ral'i) serve primarily as nonleakable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking mudai at the ŋillatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawauaalkamwe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking bones, for jerking meats, cracking araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (tranachadwe or katankura) and pestles (kudi) (pl. 43, 252 *1, 2, 3*) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and 412 chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone,

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sandstone, or stone grooved by water action; an occasional mortar in use today was plowed up—"it probably belonged to people who lived here before we came." The general shape of mortars varies, but the bowls of all are approximately 3 inches in depth. The one shown in plate 43, *2*, was made of lingue and had four nails driven into the bottom of its bowl to facilitate grinding mixtures. Pestles were smooth, elongated stones. "I picked up the one we use on the shores of the Pacific while walking there one day."

In Alepúe area, metates and mullers are shaped out of rock taken from ledges on the Pacific shore and are also given the required surface finish "by a family, the only one in all this area, who makes and sells them; this family has stone of the required texture on land near its ruka. It takes skill to make a metate and muller; each requires a different kind of roughness." Metates are trapezoidal in shape. A muller is an elongated stone, long enough to extend beyond the metate so the ends may be grasped when the muller is being used. The muller must have a rough, flat lower side and a slightly convex upper side. All edges of metate and muller are rounded. Metates generally approximate 15 to 20 inches in length, 11 to 13 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness.

One of my informants prepared to grind wheat in a metate (pl. 44, *3*) by placing a dressed sheep pelt, reserved for this purpose, on the ground outside of her ruka, and on it the metate with widest end toward her. This end she raised by putting a small piece of wood under it. "It all depends on the worker, how high she wants it raised; I like mine raised this high," she commented. The narrow end rested on the pelt. She knelt down, took a handful of wheat from a winnowing tray nearby (she had just winnowed the grain to remove the last remnants of chaff), dropped the kernels on the metate, grasped the ends of the muller, put her weight on the muller and worked it up and down over the kernels, occasionally pushing the grain toward the middle of the metate. When a portion of the wheat was ground to the desired fineness, she allowed it to fall off the sides onto the pelt. The muller was never lifted from the metate. "Why should it be? I am grinding the wheat under it!" Toasted wheat was ground in the same manner.

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The olla (challa), a potlike piece of pottery, is used in cooking; the cántaro (meñkuwe), a pitcherlike type (pl. 45), not sufficiently fired for cooking purposes, is used for holding water and other liquids. More cántaros than ollas were in use in households at the time of the present study. Ollas have been largely replaced by iron kettles, but several women were using ollas for storing food. Iron kettles (in-

formants not infrequently called them ollas) varied in depth from 252
6 to 14 inches; all were of equal diameter. The dependency on iron
kettles for cooking was expressed by an Alepúe woman who borrowed 415
one from a neighbor: "I have no olla; I broke ours. What a tragedy!
My husband says every storekeeper in San José de Mariquina and
Valdivia tells him there is none to be had any more because of the
World War. Those cántaros [pointing at galvanized pails and
enameled dishes] cannot stand the heat of the fireplace. I shall have
to make an olla of clay, it seems." No pottery plates or cups were
being made, but women had heard old people say that they were made
in former times. Any cups and spoons made today are of horn of 252
oxen, as formerly. The horn is either boiled in water or buried in 415
hot ashes until soft, usually for several hours. If cups are desired, the 321
tip of the horn is cut off and the remainder cut into desired sections.
The narrower end of each section is then plugged with a piece of
wood. Such cups exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos.
461, 462) were 3 to 5½ inches deep. If a spoon is desired, the horn is
cut lengthwise, flattened, and carved into the desired shape. Formerly
an unusually large horn in its natural state was used as a water carrier
on long journeys. Cow udders and paunches were used for storing
salt, chili, and grease (pl. 43, *4, 5, 6*). They were thoroughly cleaned
and distended by hand while drying. The opening was fastened to
a band of wood, and a strip of rawhide formed the handle.

Flour of a fine texture was sifted through a cheda, a sieve made by 252
stretching taut a piece of perforated rawhide over a circular band of 415
wood. A lacing passed through holes poked in the rim of the hide and
the middle of the band kept both in position. "My husband made this
cheda," said a woman, as she took one off a peg in her ruka. "He used
horsehide for both sieve and thongs. The band is of avellano, a wood
that bends more easily than any other wood does. Avellano wood
becomes pliable if held over a fire for a short time. My husband used
a hot iron for poking the holes into the sieve and the band. Cheda are
usually the size of this one" (11 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep).

Coarse flour is sifted through a loosely woven small basket, called chaiwe (pl. 46, *5*). Chaiwe are used also for straining ashes off mote (wheat cooked in ashes) and for filtering chicha made of fruits and corn. In fact, its use in general is that of sieve, strainer, drainer, or filterer. Usually, when being used it is hung on a peg in a tilted position. A rawhide strap, attached to the rim in handlelike fashion, keeps the chaiwe from slipping on the peg. Attaching the strap at points only a little apart keeps the chaiwe tilted. A chaiwe can also be dipped up and down in water to rid its contents of soluble sub-

252 415 stances. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (küllko) (pl. 46, *4*) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (llepü) (pls. 44, *2*; 46, *3*), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

222 262 Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarblike nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

252 The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circuelillu. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of láwü, and of koifüñ (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

222 263 Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and orégano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Coñaripe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

the salty water of the ocean, and this is still done today, if the house- 222
hold supply of salt has run out. 263

The nut of the avellano—a tree found in the Andean valleys—is 262
eaten by children; seldom by adults. Everywhere pigs, released from pens, were seen running their snouts through grass under the trees in search of these nuts. "We know where ripe ones are when we see where the pigs are enjoying them," said a little girl. The nuts of the Chilean coniferous pine, known as the araucaria (pl. 37, *3, 4*) have always been a favorite staple food. When the wheat crop is insufficient, "like this year" (1947), said the Coñaripe informant, "they are almost a necessity." Families set out for the araucaria groves after the wheat has been harvested. The araucaria is found on the slopes of the Andean Cordillera and on a ridge of the Coastal Range between the rivers Bio Bio and Bueno, at a height of about 3,000 feet. By the time a tree bears cones, it is from 75 to 150 feet tall, and the cones will be far beyond the reach of man. When the kernels have matured, some fall to the ground and others are shaken out of the cones by strong winds. Cones never empty entirely at one time. The greatest harvest, however, will come when the season has so far advanced that the small green parrots, which were a pest when fields and gardens were being seeded, return in flocks. These land on the trees and peck the cones for kernels for their own consumption, causing all the ripened kernels to fall to the ground where they can be gathered by man. If there is an abundance of kernels, those not needed for home consumption are sold to Chilean stores. "Chileans, too, like these nuts."

A 52-year-old Coñaripe man told the following regarding araucaria nut harvesting: "The araucaria grow in groves of varying numbers; groves are usually some distance apart; one might be here where I live, another at Lake Pelaifa [40 minutes' walk], another halfway between these two, the next one at Llancahue [an hour's walk], and so on. Up in the Cordillera, just opposite the Volcano Villarrica, there is a grove, and three ruka have been built there; that is where I take my family. In another place not far from there, is another grove with seven ruka. We have built several ruka in each grove, the number depending on the size of the grove. A man may take his family to one of those groves, and find that all the ruka there are already occupied. If there is still room for his family in a ruka already occupied, they may sleep in it, but build their fire and do their cooking outside. If there is no room, the man will find a ruka in another grove. Families do not gather nuts under the same trees each year; anyone can go any place he wishes to. The time to leave home to collect the nuts is when the

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222 wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at that time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut uncooked; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the hulls by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their hulls—or we boil them in water, after which the hulls are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the ruka. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

[262] Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Coñaripe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are buzzing. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into cántaros and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended chaiwe from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

262 Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapalcahue), mote (kako kachilla), catuto (multrun or mull'a), and toasted wheat (kopemkawe).

252 Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to prepare it." In making it (pls. 47-50), an informant scattered hand- 22 fuls of wheat into a kettle in which ashes had been boiling in water for some time and occasionally stirred. Choice ashes are those of olivillo, lingue, and laurel común; next best are those of roble chileno and ulmo, "in fact ashes of any hard wood (pellín) can be used; not so the ashes of canelo or of rotted wood." Ashes have to be at least a month old, and are powdered and sifted before being used.

The mixture of ashes and wheat is boiled and occasionally stirred, and at intervals the kernels are tested. Progress is being made when hulls come off the kernels as they are being rubbed between the palms of the hands. When the kernels separate into halves when pressed between the fingers, they are sufficiently cooked. A small amount of cold water is then added and the contents of the kettle poured into a chaiwe to be drained. To hasten drainage the contents is stirred and the chaiwe shaken back and forth and up and down. This done, the mixture is poured into a wooden dish to cool. The informant stirred it with both hands to bring hot kernels to the surface.

When sufficiently cooled, the informant halved the contents and loosened the hulls of each half by working the kernels with her feet in a wooden dish. This done, she poured the entire mass into the chaiwe again, took it to the source of drinking water—a pool fed by several springs and emptying into a river nearby—and freed the kernels of ashes and hulls by first pouring pailfuls of water over them in the chaiwe and then dipping the chaiwe up and down just under the surface of the water in a deeper part of the pool. At intervals she stirred the kernels with her hand. Soon she brought the chaiwe out of the pool and, putting it on the ground, straddled the handle and again worked the kernels with her feet. This done, she took the chaiwe back into the pool and let water seep into it, thus bringing to the top any foreign elements mixed with the wheat. To remove these she moved slowly out of the water, backwards, keeping the chaiwe slightly submerged. She walked home and cooked the kernels in clear water. Her mother tasted them and found them to her liking. Had they retained the taste of ashes, they would have been boiled again, but this time with a twig of maqui, "for maqui eliminates the taste of ashes," and a thorough washing will eliminate the taste of maqui. The informant served her mote to the family in cold, honey-sweetened water; the writer, her field assistant, and her interpreter, upon their return home, relished theirs in honey-sweetened milk. Mote is also served in broth and in chicha. Occasionally it is dried for future use.

Catuto are made as follows: Dry ashes and dry kernels of wheat are placed in a wooden dish and worked with the feet until kernels

252. are freed of hulls. Chaff and ashes are then winnowed off and the kernels poured into a chaiwe and thoroughly washed at the source of drinking water to remove all ashes. The kernels are then boiled in clear water, drained of all water in a chaiwe, and kept warm over the fire until mealtime when the woman will mash the kernels with muller on metate and form the whole into a flattened cigar-shaped roll, also with the muller. A catuto may be 7 inches long and 3 inches in diameter at the middle. If it is then prepared for serving in the old way, the whole catuto, or crosswise slices of it, are baked under hot ashes at the fireside; a more recent way is to fry slices in lard.

Toasted wheat is a favorite dish of children, who eat it mixed with a little water sweetened with sugar or honey. [illegible] is cooked in salted water and mixed with grease. When preparing to toast wheat, clean sand is obtained from the shores of running water, put into a kettle (formerly an olla) and set directly into the fire. When the sand is "as hot as it can get," kernels of wheat are added and the wheat and sand continuously stirred with two wooden spoons, one in each hand. Kernels turn brown and burst open and come to the top. As soon as they have browned to one's liking, they are skimmed off with a small wooden dish and poured into a large wooden one. While one person continues to toast, another shakes the large dish gently back and forth and sidewise, slightly tilted away from himself. The shaking brings the kernels to the top; the tilting allows them to fall off into a container.

An older procedure for toasting wheat—one no longer used—was to put the wheat into a pottery container known as a lupe, made especially for the purpose, and then adding exceedingly hot sand. Stirring was as described above. As the kernels were toasted, they fell over the edge of the lupe, which was slightly tilted; the sand being heavier remained in the lupe. Dexterity was required in manipulating the stirring, however.

[262] Potatoes (papa) are an important food. They are eaten baked, boiled, and fermented. To bake them they are well heated on hot coals in the firepit and then each is placed into a small hole dug in hot ashes. Potatoes so baked are called [illegible] poñi. Boiled potatoes are generally eaten in thick soups and stews, such as cazuela and charquicán, or are boiled with fresh vegetables. Near a ruka, peas just brought from a garden were shelled, washed, and poured into a kettle in which potatoes and meat were boiling; a mixture of salt and chili was used to season the food. Some families eat boiled potatoes well drenched with meat drippings.

A favorite traditional dish is funa poñi, fermented potato. Most

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

families ferment potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At the time of the potato harvest, a man and his older sons find a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "There is usually about as wide [double arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of [illegible], leaves of maqui, or ferns—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes cleaned of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then led back to its course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, scum rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepúe area; in Coñaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Coñaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (chuño or [illegible]) they are ready to be eaten; from then on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in sweetened water. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting. 252

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the pigeon and [illegible]. Less frequently the meat of pumas is eaten. Horse meat has never been a staple food, but occasionally it was eaten at the [illegible] feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten. 262

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the lard supply. Lard is stored, as is tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the needs of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and strung over the fire rack or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be rubbed down slightly with salt before being smoked. Such meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter. [251]

19: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

When done, it is eaten with boiled potatoes or tortillas. "Or, if you do not like onions, you can do this: after the meat has fried a short time, add a mixture of mashed boiled potatoes, very finely cut onions and chili and any other seasoning you may like, maybe vanilla or oregano; I add vanilla, sometimes." 251 252

A favorite dish is spiced lung of sheep or lamb. While the animal is still breathing, it is hung up by the head, its lungs are filled with a mixture of salt, chili, and a wild root called [illegible]. This bloats the lungs and the animal finally dies. A lung so bloated was seen hanging on a wall in an Alepúe ruka. The lungs are then removed and hung up until the following day. The seasoning has now penetrated all fibers. The lungs are then cooked whole, and eaten with [illegible]. 252

The coagulated blood of sheep and lambs at slaughtering time is seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onions, and then either fried, or cooked with vegetables, and eaten immediately. "Anyone who happens to be around is invited to eat of it; we call it ñachi."

Stomach and entrails of sheep and lambs are eaten fresh or smoked. An informant was seen at a river where she had cleaned and washed the entrails, stomach, and pelt of a sheep which her husband had slaughtered earlier that morning. At home she boiled the entrails and stomach, and then scraped the lining of the stomach with a knife, boiled all again, and asked in a friendly way: "These are ready now to be eaten; would you like some?" The pelt she had hung on a fence to dry.

Stomachs of sheep were seen stretched on [illegible] frames and hung over fireplaces. "I shall cook them for my family tomorrow," said one woman. Head, tongue, and feet of sheep were scraped of skin, cooked, and eaten. A woman who was cleaning some was swishing a [illegible] containing them back and forth in the current of a river. "I want them freed of every bit of [illegible]," she remarked.

Women, today, occasionally make Chilean empanadas. They consist of finely chopped seasoned mutton encased in tortilla dough. One woman made half-moon-shaped ones for sale at a fiesta, and fellow Araucanians favored her with purchases. She pounded the dough flat with her wrist, dropped a tablespoonful of the meat seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onion greens on it, folded the dough, pressed the edges together with her thumb and impressed them with a home-made serrated wheel carved out of [illegible] horn. The field assistant thought of zigzag braid when she saw the edges. As the woman finished an empanada, she dropped it into a kettle of boiling

252 lard. When sufficiently cooked, it came to the top and was removed by the woman's sister with a spadelike wooden implement (rəfwe).

262 Butter and milk are not part of the Araucanian diet; there is not even an Araucanian word for either—Spanish words are used when speaking of them. Cheese, known by the Spanish word queso, is eaten by many families today. The making of it was undoubtedly learned from non-Araucanians. The evening preceding cheese making, cows are corralled near the ruka so that they can be milked in the morning. An Alepúe woman took two pails of whole milk still slightly warm (or if it had cooled, she heated it a little) and poured into it, as rennet, the water she had drained off a fermented sheep stomach. The stomach had been in water close to the fire, but not boiling, since the morning of the previous day. In place of water whey is sometimes used. "The stomach was one I had dried over the fire and stored." The milk thickens as soon as rennet, whey, or water is poured into it. After an hour the mixture is worked with the hands, and is then poured into a sack, "like a flour sack," and hung to drain. By the time the dripping ends, the cheese has formed. It is then washed in salted lukewarm water or a mixture of salt and chili is worked into it to one's liking. This done, it is again poured into a sack and pressed between two boards. Heavy stones are used as weights. After two days the cheese is removed from the sack and exposed to air and sun so as to give all sides a thick covering.

262 Fish and shellfish, according to Cooper's sources, formed part of the Araucanian diet, along the Pacific in the early days (1946, p. 705). They are an important dietary element in Alepúe and Boroa areas today; and to some degree fish, but no shellfish, are eaten in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, where they are taken from fresh waters of Andean streams. Fish taken from the Pacific are the corbina (koluŋkalen), the sierra (sawfish), and the robalo (haddock; kudwa). A species of mackerel (kauki) is taken in Andean streams.

252 Entrails of fish are removed by fishermen upon landing; heads are removed at home. In large hauls women assist with the cleaning. Fish are either cooked in water seasoned with salt and chili, or are baked or roasted. If baked or roasted, the lining of the visceral cavity is rubbed with salt and chili. Baking is done directly on coals in the fireplace—the fish are not rolled into leaves. Roasting is done by hanging the fish over a fire from a leaning stick which has been poked through the back of the fish. An oversupply of fish is sun-dried or slightly smoked and eaten soon thereafter, cooked with salt and chili.

Women on the Pacific coast prepare favorite shellfish dishes from loko, macha, mañihue, ariso, and piure. Loko are dropped into boiling water, and when the shells drop off, they are removed and strung on a strand of fiocha for easier handling—"they are very slippery animals." They are then twirled around in hot ashes at the fireplace, and each one is well pounded with a maul or a stone. After this the ashes are washed off and the loko is either fried in deep fat, roasted directly on hot coals, or cooked as stew. If a larger number has been collected than can be eaten at one meal, the surplus, after having been ashed and pounded, is either sold fresh to non-Araucanians or is prepared for drying for future use. In both cases stringing must be more carefully done to preserve them: the round end of one loko must touch the narrow end of the one next to it, which is tipped with a hard shell-like substance; if round ends touch each other they will pack and spoil. So strung, they are hung on the raft of the fireplace to dry. Araucanians will eat them cooked in stews. Non-Araucanians serve them in several ways: deep fried, cut into small pieces and cooked with vegetables as stews, chopped fine in empanadas, or pickled in vinegar and onions and served as an entrée. 252

Mañihue are sometimes baked in the shell in the fireplace; more often they are boiled in water until they leave the shell. Being tender, they need not be pounded like the loko. If eaten immediately, they are deep fried or cooked as stew; if not, they are prepared and dried in the same manner as the loko. An Araucanian family gave shelter one stormy night to my interpreter and a companion, both non-Araucanians away from home. For their evening meal the woman in the ruka fed them mañihue. "The little heads with the horns had not been removed," commented the interpreter. "My companion said those little horned heads nauseated her. I insisted, 'We must eat them or we may offend these people.' But she managed to pinch them off and slip them to the cat."

Ariso are baked in their shell in contact with hot coals. When well done, the upper part of the shell is cut off, and the substance eaten from the remaining shell. Piure are eaten from the shell, also. They are either baked on hot coals or well boiled in water. "Piure are very good to eat," said a little girl; "they have sea water inside of themselves. They are a pretty color, too, after they are boiled."

Seaweeds used as food by families living near the Pacific are luche and cochayuyo. Luche grows to a height of about 2 inches on the tops of rocks close to the shores of the Pacific. "It looks as though it had been sowed there." It is easily pulled off and is collected when the tide is low. It is prepared for eating by rolling it into leaves of nalca to form small bundles. Each bundle is tied tight with strands of fiocha, then put into a shallow hole made outside the ruka, covered [222 252]

252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros
857 or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, *3*). This drink was only recently
177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a
415 dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus letifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

Formerly, according to a Panguipulli man older than 70 years, 273
chicha was made in a kettle-shaped vessel of leather (trakal, fig. 5). 415
At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of avellano wood by means of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground.

In the early days, mudai, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, mudai is drunk only at the ŋillatun, machitun, and konchatun. Women prepare both the mudai and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken 264
as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon, and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

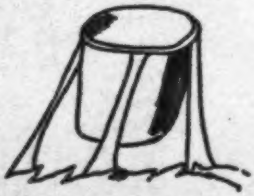

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FIG. 5.—Trakal, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenum of Panguipulli.)

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. 264
Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with
the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing 512
a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Coñaripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal.

264 On school days, in homes where there are children of school age,
the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school
512 early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning
871 and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish
a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

[352] Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

342 The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had
helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-
Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building
with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently
established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby.
Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs
[177] to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the
rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the
one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the
men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka
was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in
the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors,
either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

or ruka. "There are, however," the informant added, "still many that 342 cook, work, and sleep in a one-room ruka; much depends on the size of the family."

Cooper's sources recorded that as many as 80 to 90 persons lived in a single ruka; 30 to 40 was a more common number. Dimensions of ruka varied from 16 to 20 feet in length by 10 to 13 feet in width, to 66 feet in length by 33 feet in width; an occasional one was longer. A cacique's ruka was estimated by one source to have been approximately 140 feet long and 30 feet wide, with a ridge pole 15 feet aboveground. In Cautín, ruka were 400 to 800 feet square. Most ruka, however, had only one or two entrances, with no doors or windows. An opening (or openings) in the center of the roof served as a smoke hole (something my informants doubted). Small conical thatched ruka were also used, according to Cooper's sources. Warriors made temporary shelters against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and laying over these four large leaves of nalca. The interior of the larger ruka was usually divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section, and served as sleeping quarters for the different families or for the wives of one man. Ordinarily there was a separate fireplace provided for each married couple or wife. Storage space was in lofts or in cane-partitioned bins (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today the size of a ruka depends on the wishes and needs of the 342 owner. A wima (the distance from chest to fingers of an outstretched 804 arm) is the unit of measurement. "When I used to help to build ruka," said a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, "we measured off so many wima on yarn for the length, so many for the width, and so many for the height, and then set out to build the ruka accordingly. An Alepúe man in his forties said: "Today a measuring pole of one vara [2.8 feet] is used. Standard length of rafters is 4½ vara; the height of walls, always greater than 3½ vara; the width and length of the ground plan depends on the size of the ruka that the man wants to build."

Regarding the ruka of a man with several wives, a 33-year-old 342 Coñaripe man told that his grandfather had one large ruka for his 595 two wives; that men with more than one wife today have a ruka for each wife. "A young man near here who has two wives has a ruka for each; the two ruka are about a 5-minutes' walk apart. An old man here has one of his two wives living across the river and the other in Liñco."

Ruka have no windows; usually each has two entrances, located in 342 walls away from prevailing winds—in opposite walls, sometimes in adjoining ones. Doors are upright planks that are generally tied

342 together with voqui, or, in some instances, are nailed to horizontal boards. Hinges are of rawhide. Rarely are there latches or knobs. A door is kept closed by being bolted. Children, during their first days at school, are baffled by knobs on doors.

Ruka have no chimneys. "Who would want to sit in a ruka with an opening at the top to let the rain in?" asked a Coñaripe man, and then went on to say: "The ruka is built to have smoke exits (ullollün) at one or both gable ends of the roof, or to have escapes in one or two walls. If the ruka is situated in the path of a prevailing wind, such as we have in some of the valleys in the Cordillera, there is only one opening for the smoke; if located where winds shift frequently, there are two. Ullollün are usually built to protrude beyond the walls or to be slightly higher than the roof. If built in this manner, there is always a good draft." (See pls. 52, *1*, and 53.)

An Alepúe man, when asked why the ruka had no chimney, replied: "For the very simple reason that in this area it rains on the average two days out of every three; no holes can be tolerated in the roof. We take care of ventilation and smoke by arranging for one smoke hole at a gable end of the roof, that is an ullollün, and for another by leaving an open space at the eaves of one of the walls and a thinness in the same wall just below the open space. The smoke will then find its way out either through the smoke hole or the wall, depending upon the draft, the draft depending largely on the direction of the wind. When building the ruka, notice must be taken of prevailing winds, for the thinness in the wall must be on the side opposite prevailing winds, and the eave on this side must project sufficiently to keep swishing rains from coming in through the thin part of the wall." During an interview, one day, his wife closed the ruka door in order to change the direction of the smoke. She waited a moment, and when she saw the smoke going out through the thin wall she remarked: "There now, that will make it more comfortable to visit."

342
824 The framework of the traditional thatch ruka requires saplings with a crotch at an equal height on each. Saplings of hardwood are best, such as petra, roble chileno, canelo, olivillo, laurel común, and ulmo. Temu must not be used, "for worms live in it." The rafters are of ulmo, and so are tie beams. "Ulmo, you know, grows very straight." The entire framework is kept taut and in position by colihüe poles tied to it at intervals in a horizontal position.

342 A man wishing to erect a thatch ruka usually collects the building materials before the men he has invited to assist him arrive. These are men he helped in the erection of their ruka, usually neighbors and relatives. If these men are close friends of his, their families are

invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342 ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, [824] reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the colihüe poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the colihüe poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots earthward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, colihüe poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by [462] the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun, if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication.

A 33-year old Coñaripe man explained the building of the split-log [177] roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied these from the Chileans," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belonging [428] to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 354 are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth as well.

000 373 warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or tin cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pumas away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

356 Almost without exception ruka seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepúe boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Coñaripe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

356 412 Sweeping, both inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom made of esparto tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of voqui. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whiskbrooms, used in cleaning kettles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the broom. A Coñaripe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the chickens, chased the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two ruka occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This enormous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

352 513 Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but adequate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepúe area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sheep

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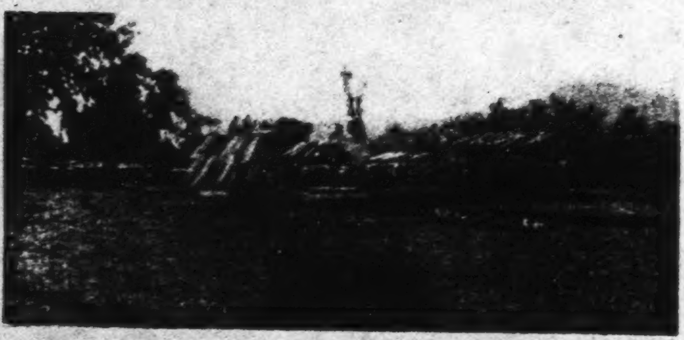

Housing: 1, A ruka (Alepúe). 2, The Coñaripe cacique's homestead. 3, One of the buildings shown in figure 2, used for sleeping and for storage.

[p. 220 (A)]

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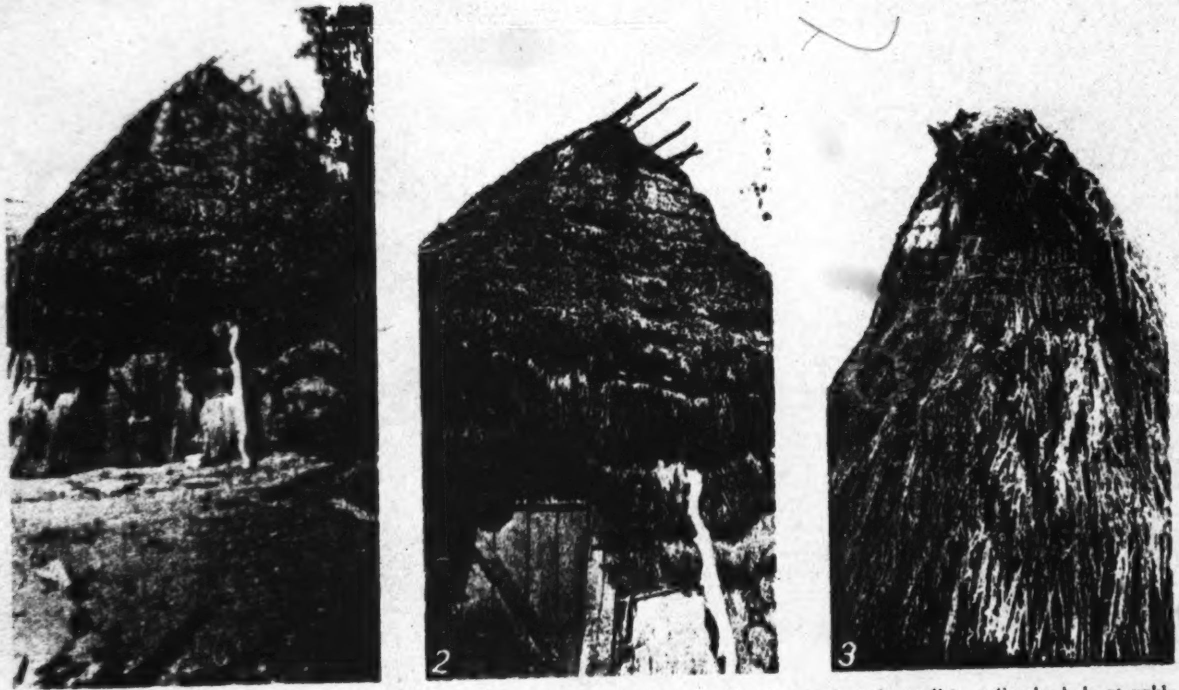
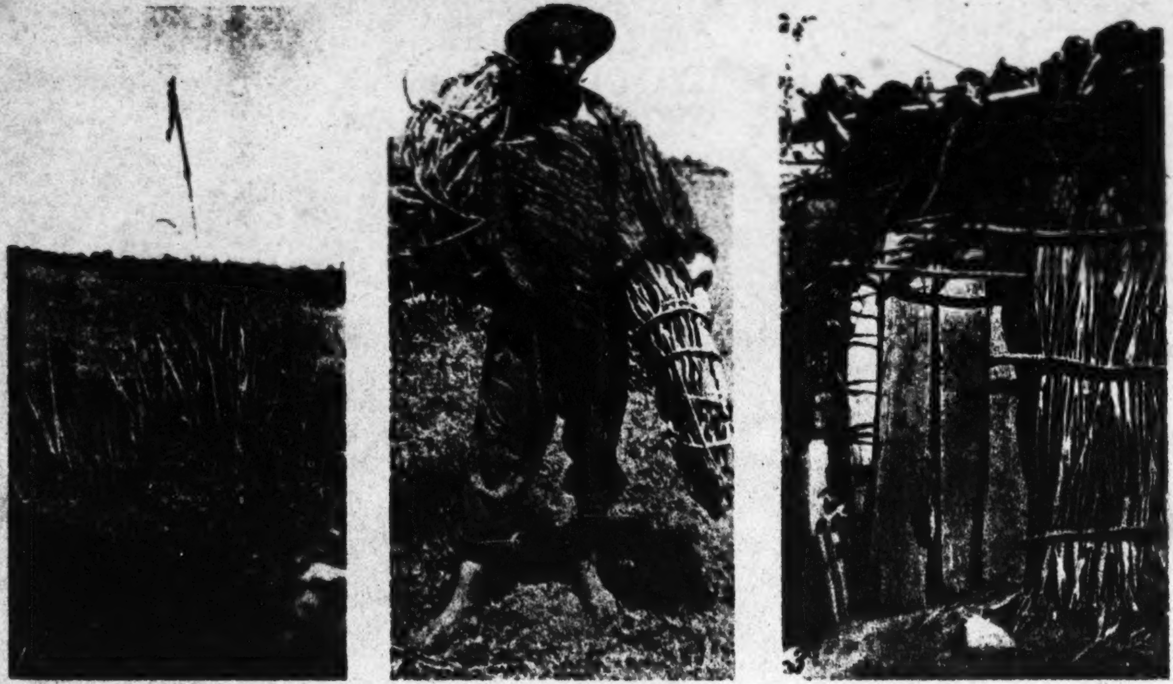
[p. 220(B)]



A ruka in Alepúe area: 1, Front view showing entrance. (Note yoke for oxen leaning against the wall.) 2, Smoke hole at gable end of front wall. 3, Smoke hole at gable end of rear wall. (Note layers of grass used in thatching walls, in all three pictures.)

[p. 220 (c)]



Building materials (Alepûe): 1, Ratonera used in thatching a ruka. 2, Vine (voqué) used in building fences and ruka. 3, Detail of a chicken coop. (Note the manner of keeping ratonera in place. All attaching is done with vines.)

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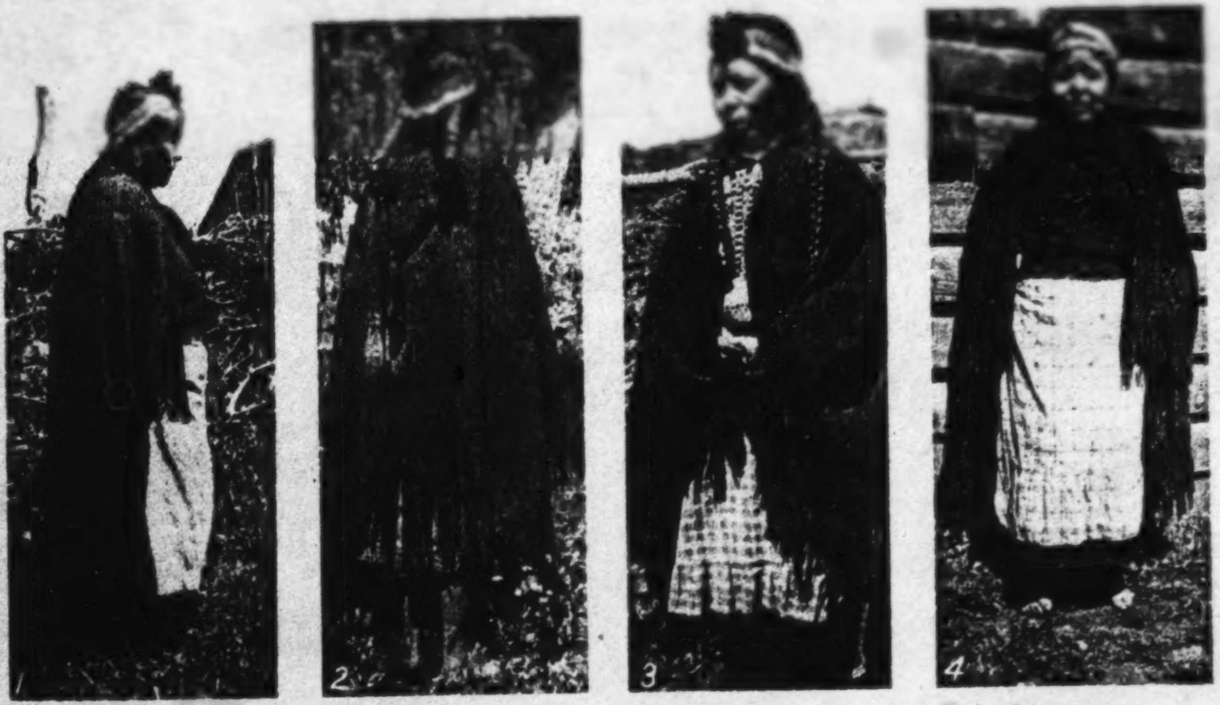

Women's clothing (Alepúe area): 1–3, Women dressed for fiesta. 4, A woman in her everyday dress.

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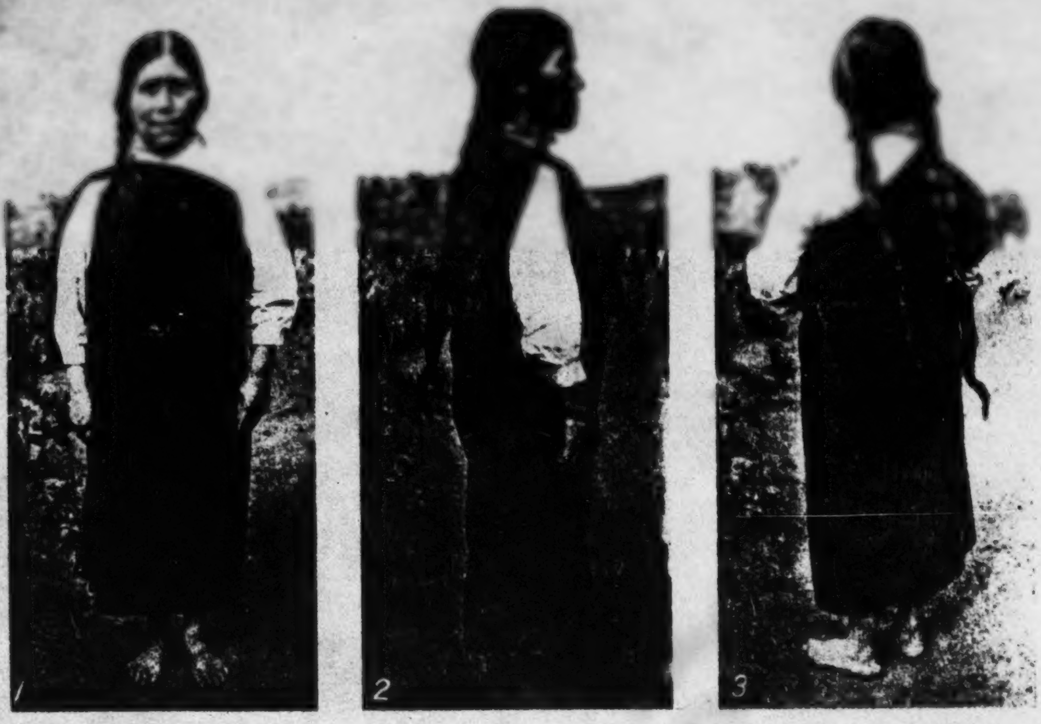

Three views of the kəpam, the woman's traditional homespun and homewoven dress of black yarn (Alepüe).

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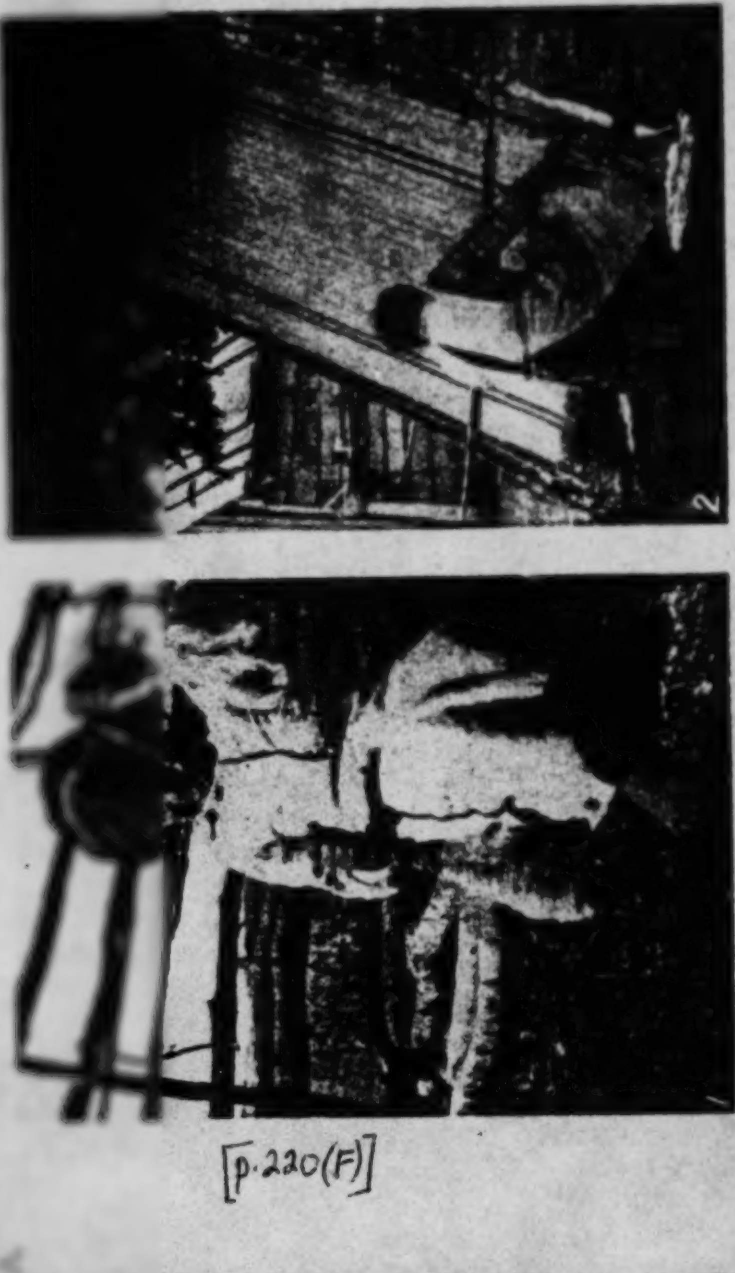

Spinning and weaving: 1, Eight-year-old Alepúe girl spinning yarn of wool on the traditional spindle. 2, A young Coñaripe woman weaving a blanket.

[p.220(F)]

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[p. 220 (G)]

Dyeing (Alepûe): 1, Woman returning from woods with a wilal (carrying bag) filled with bark to be used in dyeing. 2 and 3, Woman cooling off yarn after having dyed it.

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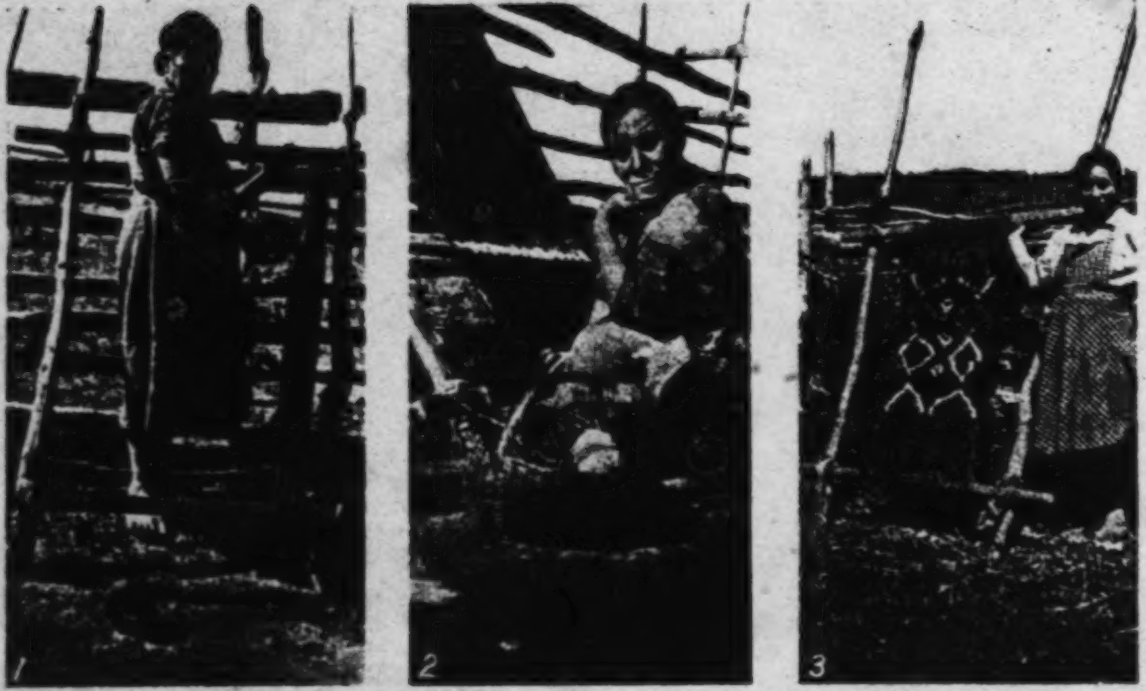

Weaving a choapino, a saddle cover or throw for stools and low benches (Alepúe): 1, Putting the warp on the loom. 2, Ready to begin to weave. 3, The completed choapino.

[p.220 (H)]

pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alepúe man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [158]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of voqui from tie beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepúe woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining colihüe sections of equal length with voqui. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or lamb-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Coñaripe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on tie beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (külko and chaiwe), netted bags of various sizes (wilal), dried gourds, pouches and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware ollas and cántaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Panguipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 241

291 formant) was a boy: a chiripa (pants of chamall, a rectangularly shaped, rather loosely woven piece of cloth), a chochol (sleeveless sweater of chamall), a makuñ (poncho), a chamallwe (woven belt), a trarülonko (headband, no head covering); and for men, but not boys, a pair of tranu (leather soles tied to the feet), several traükuque (metal bracelets), and trarünamun (metal anklets). A chiripa was secured at the waistline with a belt, and then drawn up between the legs from behind and tucked under the belt in front.

When Father Sigifredo arrived among the Araucanians about 1900 nearly all men were still wearing chiripa and walked barefoot. Conservative old men in all areas wore chiripa as recently as 1940. "In fact, the cacique [Coñaripe] who died recently never owned pants." In all areas today some men and boys still wear chiripa when working near or at home—"one must have money to buy commercially made pants; a chiripa is cheaper; our women weave chamall for chiripa."

The oldest informants had heard old people say that when they were still young the Araucanians wore clothing made of dressed hides of a wild animal "of which there were plenty then." One informant believed it was the huemel. An old woman who was listening in said she had heard that it was the puma.

301 Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore one earring, a silver one, and when a man's saddle gear was ornamented with silver; but no informant knew of any man who owned such ornaments today. All remembered that a man of means—"and most of them were that," a woman listening in interjected—could be distinguished by a trarütuwe, that is, a leather belt ornamented with silver; the belt worn by others, the chamallwe, was homewoven and not ornamented.

291 Today, in general, men, both young and old, wear shirts and pants the same as Chilean men, securing them with the traditional chamallwe instead of a leather belt as Chileans do. All men wear ponchos; some also wear coats. (Pls. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26.) Men often have two ponchos, one for work and errands in the area and a better one for special occasions such as trips to other areas, fiestas, and church services. At present, too, men wear shoes on these special occasions; and if a man can afford it, he will also have shoes for his sons for such occasions. At home all are barefoot, unless a man makes for himself a pair of ojotas (tranu) (pl. 26, *2*). Ojotas are made from dressed, untanned horse or ox hide. In making a pair, a man steps on a piece of hide and marks on it the outline of his foot, making the pattern large enough so that when the edges are brought together the hide will cover the entire foot. He cuts out the section as marked, pokes holes at close intervals along the edge and runs a thong through them.

He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried tranu are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; temu is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, *2*; 8; 9, *1*; 11, *1*, *3*; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Coñaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 291 294 177

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Coñaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, *2*), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, *1*). A 2-year-old Coñaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister. 291

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Panguipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kopam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikülla or ikalla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarüwe (belt); two akucha (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarüloŋko (headband of silver medallions) or a llafllafiŋetrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 302 a nətrowe (yarn braided into the hair or wound around bunches of it and around the ends of braids). Ponchos were not worn by women; nor did women wear tranu—all walked barefoot. Today, in general, women of all ages wear a long-sleeved waist and a kəpam, and over these, an apron; a factory-woven black shawl is worn when away from home. (Pls. 2, *3*; 3, *2*; 4, *1*, *3*; 24, *2*, *3*; 29, *1*; 38, *3*; 56; 58.) Most women are barefoot at all times; those who have shoes wear them only on special occasions.

A kəpam is rectangular in shape. (The 100-year-old Coñaripe man said the kəpam could also be called küpam or pillkeñ.) A married woman demonstrated the manner of wearing the kəpam. (Cf. pl. 56.) She placed the kəpam against her back lengthwise at the shoulders. Then she brought one corner toward the front, across the right shoulder, and the other corner under her left arm, across her chest, and over her right shoulder; then she tied a belt (trarüwe) tight about her waist. Next she folded the two corners on her right shoulder, one over the other, in front of the right shoulder and pinned them together with a safety pin. After this she adjusted the overlapping skirt parts—at least a foot of each. The only clothing worn under the kəpam was a long-sleeved waist of considerable length. Married women, after the arrival of the first baby, wear the kəpam pinned on one shoulder only, "as I showed you; it is easier to nurse the baby when the kəpam is pinned on one shoulder only." Unmarried women pin them on both shoulders.

Girls formerly wore clothes styled like those of adult women. Usually the mother wove a kəpam to fit the girl. "I recall my mother taking my measurements for one she was getting ready to weave for me; I had only one; she had made that one out of the less worn-out part of an old one of hers."

Waists and aprons are made of cotton cloth bought in Chilean stores; they are hand-sewn by the women—no family owned a sewing machine. Buttons being scarce, in Alepúe area a row of Chilean 20-centavo coins with two holes punched in each were often seen sewed down the front of a waist.

The factory-woven shawl worn today by both women and girls is folded double so that corners fit exactly. This gives it the shape of the ikülla worn formerly. The shawl is worn over the shoulders (over the head only in the rain) and is secured at the neck with a safety pin or stickpin.

In all areas a few women, both young and middle-aged, who were either working as servants in Chilean homes or had done so, wore modern dresses exclusively. Having worn modern dresses as residents

for 3 or 4 years in boarding schools did not keep them from wearing 291
the kəpam as adult women, noted the interpreter. "I have noticed, too," she added, "that as soon as they marry, they wear the kəpam. One young woman told me recently that, in any event, the kəpam was more comfortable." Girls of school age wore modern dresses, unless they came from very isolated areas, in which case they wore the kəpam; older ones wore calico dresses; younger ones, either calico or jumperlike knitted ones. (Pls. 5, *3*; 7, *1*, *3*; 11, *2*; 17.)

Children are barefoot. If shoes are owned they are usually worn only at church services and when going to Chilean towns. One little Alepúe girl wore her sister's shoes to school, "because I have a cold."

Women today who own traditional silver accessories and ornaments 301
quite evidently wear them with a feeling of distinction. (Pls. 27, 55.)

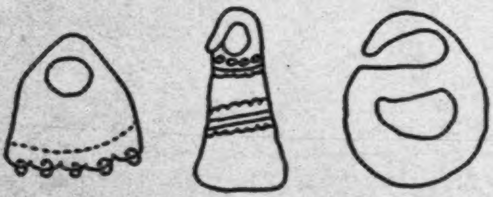

FIG. 6.—Women's earrings. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

They are highly prized, and are always worn at festivals, "or when the Mapuche meet in large crowds anywhere." At a festival in Alepúe area, nine women, probably older than 50, who wore silver ornaments were pointed out by other women as being dressed in the "real Mapuche way of old times." With few exceptions, silver ornaments were heirlooms, and in nearly all instances had belonged to an old relative of the owner, usually the woman's mother. "All these on my head were given to my mother when she was a young girl." Silver things worn by women were stickpins, safety pins, large ornamental pins, ear pendants, headbands, and head ornaments. (Cf. pp. 59-61 for personal adornments.)

Clothes are washed on flat rocks or on wooden slats in running 296
water found near the ruka, usually the same brook from which drinking water is obtained, but below the source of the drinking water. Women and older girls do the washing, with, occasionally, a boy of school age helping. Several hours previous to washing, things to be washed are soaked in water at home, and soap, if there is any, is added. In most areas the water is soft, and even non-Araucanians used

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296 soap sparingly, "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Alepúe area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or slat, and is slapped with a flat, long-handled, wooden ladle (pl. 42, *6*), made in one piece to lessen the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well slapped, it is rinsed by being swished back and forth in running water. Slapping and rinsing is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often kneel than stand while washing. The wash is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the rural Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING, DYEING, WEAVING

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women pour on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good foam and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The woman then pours boiling water over it and takes it to the brook or river where she works it well with her hands in the swift running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out of it and float away." No soap is needed—"the oil in the wool cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

283 [462] Formerly all women and girls, and many boys 10 years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and fewer do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long wads by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (ñümkuu) (pl. 57, *1*) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pishoi) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Alepúe woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." Her spindle was 17 inches long and 1¼ inches in diameter; the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 16 and 21 inches in length, and ½ to 1¼ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ½ inch thick.

The spinner is seated on a low bench while spinning. Around her left arm, in loose fashion, she has wound one of the elongated wads. The upper end of the spindle is held casually in her right hand, while the lower end rests on the ground near her side. With her index fingers and thumbs she pulls some of the wad into a strand of workable thickness, and long enough to reach comfortably from the left hand to the spindle. Then, with a twist of the finger tips of the right hand, she sends the spindle rotating (anticlockwise) in midair. The strand of wool now becomes yarn. She undoes the slipknot in the groove of the spindle (which has kept the yarn already on the spindle from unwinding), rotates the spindle again in midair, and thereby winds the newly spun yarn onto the spindle. She again secures the yarn on the spindle with a slipknot in the groove and then repeats the process of spinning.

Spun yarn is twirled as a single strand or two strands together, depending upon the use to be made of it. Yarn intended for clothing must be finer and is therefore more firmly twirled than that intended for household articles, such as blankets, lama, and choapino. "For instance, there is no use weaving a poncho with yarn like this [just spun]; it must be made durable by twirling. It must be tightly twirled or it will not shed rain, or keep out those blasting winds." Men often help to twirl; so do older boys and girls.

An informant demonstrated twirling two strands of yarn that she intended to weave into a poncho. She unrolled several feet of yarn from each of two spindles, and prevented more from unrolling by means of a slipknot in the groove of each spindle. Letting both spindles rest on the ground, she rolled a strand of one spindle the full length of her right hand over her left wrist. She repeated this several times, and then held the end of it between her teeth to keep it from unwinding while she dealt in the same manner with a strand of the other spindle. This done, she brought the two ends together, held them between an index finger and thumb, and suspended both spindles in midair. The rotating spindles twisted the two strands of yarn into one. Since she wanted tightly twirled yarn, she now rested the lower ends of the spindles on the ground, relaxed them, and suspended them again. As they spun again, the yarn was twisted tighter. Upon examination, she found the yarn not sufficiently twirled, for she remarked, "I want to use this yarn to weave a poncho for my husband," so she twirled it a third time. She twirled the remainder of the two spindles and then wound the twirled yarn onto an empty spindle from which it was later wound into a ball. When making a ball, the spindle

283 is kept in upright position by holding its lower end between two toes. Children were seen winding yarn on balls in this manner.

The informant then demonstrated twirling yarn used in weaving a kəpam, for which only a single strand is twirled. She unwound several feet of yarn, then rolled the upper end of the spindle between her hands, caught the end of the yarn, held it, suspended the spindle in midair, and let it twirl there. She kept an eye on the yarn and when she thought it sufficiently twirled, she stopped it by letting the lower end of the spindle touch the ground. She examined the yarn closely now, and found it sufficiently twirled. After a strand was twirled, she rolled it onto another spindle, and secured it in the groove with a slipknot.

386 Yarn, not wool, is dyed by being boiled in a decoction made, as formerly, of native plants or of earth (pl. 58, *1*); in recent years commercial dyes bought in Chilean stores have also been used. Either the yarn and the dye-producing substance are boiled together, or the dye is first made and the yarn then boiled in it. Women do the dyeing. (Pl. 58, *2*, *3*.) Yarn to be dyed is formed into skeins, a single arm's stretch in length, the number of strands in a skein depending on the amount of yarn needed for the article to be woven and also on the size of the kettle in which they are to be dyed. (The informant thought that there are never more than 100 strands in a skein.) Near her lay five skeins, each of 70 to 100 double-twirled strands.

Dyeing was formerly done only in pottery-made ollas; several informants still dyed black in ollas, "for black dyed in a kettle fades the next day. A woman who does not have an olla usually weaves her kəpam from the wool of black sheep. A kəpam must be black; no woman would wear one of any other color." Iron kettles used in cooking are the ones used in dyeing. Table 6 lists native plants from which colors were extracted by informants.

An Alepúe woman spent a forenoon in the woods chopping bark off ulmo. "Since I want to dye yarn a dark, dark brown, I had to search for old trees. Out here in the open space, I found only young trees; their bark gives a light-brown color. But deep in the woods I found the old trees I needed." She then proceeded with the dyeing. She broke the bark into chips, put a layer of them on the bottom of the kettle, two skeins of dry yarn on the top of the chips, another layer of bark, two more skeins on top of these, and then another layer of bark. The amount of bark used is of no account; the length of boiling is significant. She filled the kettle with cold water and suspended it from the fire raft so low that it rested directly on the fire. As it boiled, she occasionally pulled several strands forward with a stick to examine

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386 the color. When the color satisfied her she flipped the chips off with her bare hand, lifted the yarn out with the stick, and hung the skeins on a wire hook suspended from the fire raft in such a position that they drained into the decoction in the kettle below. Later she wrung the skeins by hand into the kettle beneath. She had two more skeins to dye. These she put into the kettle, added more chips and enough water to fill the kettle. While waiting for these to dye, she told how to dye for other colors. "If I were dyeing yellow, I would chop the roots of michai into small pieces and boil the yarn with them, just as I am doing now. If I wanted to brighten the yellow color, I would add the leaves of canelo; canelo leaves would also prevent the color from fading out. When I want to dye red or green, I use commercial dyes. When I want to dye yarn in commercial red, I boil the yarn in canelo leaves first and then in the dissolved red dye. For commercial green, I boil the yarn with leaves of laurel común first, and then in the dissolved green dye. Doing it this way brings the colors out

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TABLE 6.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Chile)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Orange-yellow	Bark of michai (müchai, *Berberis darwinii* or *B. vulgaris*)	Shrub found in dry land on hills and in open spaces. "It makes pretty stripes in lamas and designs in choapinos."
Red-brown	Dry gray moss (not identified)	Found on fence rails.
Brown	Bark of ulmo (ŋulŋu, *Eucryphia cordifolia*)	"Use bark of old trees for dark brown; of young trees for light brown."
Gray-brown	Twigs of temu (*Temu divaricatum*) added to nalca (ŋalka, *Gunnera scabra*)	Temu grows in moist ravines.
Lead-gray	Any of the following: (a) Twigs and leaves of petra (pütra, *Myrceugenia planipes*) (b) Bark of olivillo (tüke, *Aextoxicon punctatum*) (c) Roots of nalca (d) Twigs of chakaiwa (*Berberis darwinii*) (e) Twigs of fuscia (chilko, *Fuchsia macrostemma*)	A favorite color for ponchos. Grows in deep swamps.
Purple-gray	Bark of nalca and olivillo	Favorite color for ponchos.
Red	Relbun (rüllan kachu, *Galium chilense*) only when mixed with commercial red dye	"It takes less commercial red dye if relbun is used with it. Relbun grows on the edges of brooks."
Black	Roots of chakaiwa	

386 bright and lets them fade less easily. Darker shades of any color are produced by boiling the yarn a long time; the longer the yarn is boiled in the dye, the deeper the color will be."

Another Alepúe woman, using native plants, made the dye first and then boiled the yarn in it. At the time she was dyeing yarn for a poncho, using chips of olivillo bark and pieces of roots of nalca. She removed the bark and roots from the kettle and dropped the skeins into the boiling decoction. In about 10 minutes she squeezed the liquid out of a handful of yarn to examine the color. "It is too light," she remarked, and let it boil several more minutes.

386 317 Silver-gray and black are obtained from earth. An Alepúe woman, who was dyeing with earth at the time, gave directions for finding earth to dye silver-gray. "Look for a spot of deep purplish color on the surface of the earth, along the shores of the Pacific. When you find it, dig down about so deep [3 feet], and take out the earth you find there; it will dye a silver-gray color—Chileans call the color plomo." A Coñaripe woman was dyeing black with earth that she had brought "from a place near here where a spring from the Cordillera empties into the Llancahue River. I know of no other place where it can be found," she noted.

386 Commercial dyes were used by informants to color red, green, purple, wine color, and also black. "The Chilean stores at which we trade for clothing, sugar, etc., will accept lama and choapino from us in exchange for things we want, if they are in bright colors; articles in darker colors are difficult to sell, the storekeepers say. Since we have no plants that dye bright colors, we buy anüll, a dye imported from Germany, and aniline dyes at the stores. The yarn dyed with anüll retains its color; in fact the color dies with the cloth; aniline dyes fade out in time. Anüll dyes are very expensive—I paid 10 pesos [30 cents in U. S. money] for less than this [a teaspoonful] last year [1946], and I had to buy three such portions to dye a kapam. None can be gotten any longer; they say the war is preventing trade with Germany."

Native dyes are set in two traditional ways: either putrid human urine is added to the kettle of boiling dye from which the dyed skeins have been removed, and when this mixture is boiling the skeins are returned to it and again boiled; or, as in the case of dark colors such as are favored for ponchos, earth of a specific quality and urine are mixed and added to the dye and the skeins boiled in it. The woman who dyed yarn for a poncho in olivillo bark and nalca roots made a solution of the second kind. With her hand she mixed well urine and earth that she and her teen-age daughter had dug at the Pacific that

day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling 386
dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is 868
the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717).

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, *2*; 59). School 286
girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamallwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kapam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs.

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven 286
are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for 294
clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear 304
them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size."

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The 286
frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kulo)—oblong pieces of wood planed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwülle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often

sections of colihüe poles. Swords (ngerewe) are of luma wood made smooth with glass and stones, and are of varying lengths and widths. One weaver at work on a blanket had seven swords: two (29 x 3 and 18 x 1½ inches) she used in beating down the woof; five others (17 x ¾, 13 x ½, 9 x ¾, 8 x ½, and 7 x ⅝ inches) she used toward the end of the weaving—after the heddle had been removed—to pick up alternate strands of warp. Each of the seven swords was approximately one-half inch thick, and each had the edge used in beating thinner than the opposite one. Each one was flat on one side and convex on the other, and had both ends pointed. Another implement used is a heddle (tonorwe). A second heddle (rañilelwe) is used when weaving a blanket. Both woof (düwewe) and warp (witrálün) are yarn.

Women sit while weaving and work from the bottom of the loom upward. When the area of weaving is no longer within convenient reach of the weaver, she rolls the woven part onto the lower beam and lowers the upper beam. When the article is nearly completely woven, she loosens the beams from the poles, reverses their positions on the frame, and then proceeds to weave again from the bottom upward, and ends at the part already woven.

An Alepúe woman (pl. 59) in setting up her loom leaned two 8-foot saplings against a fence near her ruka, and tied a 4-foot beam close to the top of these and another of the same length close to the bottom. She used heavy twirled yarn for tying, but could have used thongs or voqui, she noted. She then sent a child to fetch a nearby quila pole and with it measured the distance between the beams on the pole at her right. She marked the measure on the quila pole with a finger moistened with saliva. Then she measured off the same distance on the upright pole at her left, and adjusted the upper beam to equalize the distances between the beams on both poles. She was now ready to stretch the warp to weave a choapino. She tied together the ends of two balls of white yarn and fastened the combined ends to the lower beam at the right. Then, to provide for even- and odd-numbered strands, she passed one ball under the lower beam (clockwise) and over the upper beam (anticlockwise), dropped it, and did the same with the second ball (pl. 59, 1). She continued this operation, alternating the balls, until she had sufficient warp. She now spread the strands into the positions in which she wanted them when she began to weave. To make certain that the width of the spread was what she wanted, she measured it with hand stretches. She counted the strands, and remarked, "I have here 120 double strands: 120 even ones and 120 odd ones. It will probably take two kilos of wool to weave this choapino." (A choapino is not unlike a hooked rug.) She next twirled sufficient yarn slightly to make a soft cord. With it she fastened the heddle to the odd strands by passing it around the heddle and then around a strand. Then she inserted a sword above the heddle so that all even-numbered strands were on one side and all odd-numbered ones on the other and pushed the sword upward a little. This was done to give some tautness to the strands. She used another sword to beat down the woof while weaving.

She now filled a shuttle by winding a strand of the yarn a few times around one end of it, then moving directly to the other end and winding it around that end several times, and from then on moving back and forth from end to end until she thought the shuttle still light enough in weight to be shot through the sheds without difficulty; at this point she wound the yarn around one end of the shuttle several times and severed the strand from the ball by tearing it. She filled several shuttles in the same manner, then wove a rather loose foundation by the ordinary weaving technique. This done, she worked short pieces of yarn down and back between woof and warp, and tied each one. She had cut these short pieces from skeins she had dyed in various colors. As she worked, she selected the color that filled in a design she was working out—"the design is in my mind; you will see it when I have made it." Plate 59, *3*, shows the design and the completed choapino. Choapino usually have overlapping rows of fringes on both ends, which are generally of the same color as the foundation into which the design is worked, that is, either white or brown. They are also separate pieces of yarn, but are decidedly longer than those used in the design. Proportions are usually 22 inches of a design and 11 inches of fringe at each end.

A 19-year-old Coñaripe girl wove a blanket (pl. 57, *2*) of standard size, 4 by 6 feet, for the wife of a Chilean who worked at the lumber camp in another valley. The Chilean husband had ordered it. Both warp and woof were twirled double strands of white yarn. She was weaving two 1½-inch wide stripes on each side in purple. "I dyed the yarn with purple dye the Chilean brought me," she explained. "When I have this blanket woven, I shall weave a poncho for my father. Ponchos must be woven very tight so that no rain can get through and no wind bother the person."

Lama are woven of heavy twirled double strands of wool yarn by the same technique as blankets. After they are removed from the loom they are usually combed with the thistles of a hard, dried seed pod (not identified) to give them a nap. The woof at both ends forms

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286 fringes. Belts for men and women are woven alike, except that a woman's is decidedly broader and shorter than a man's.

286 531 Designs used in weaving are usually conventional; they have no significance. Kəpam and shawls have no designs. Belts and headbands often have varicolored stripes running lengthwise, or stripes of one color running crosswise near the ends. Ponchos are usually of one color, either gray, purplish gray, or silver-gray; an occasional one has woven in it a geometric design of some subdued color, usually black or brown (pl. 25, *1* and *2*). Blankets are generally of undyed white yarn with stripes of one color running lengthwise near the edges. Lama are of one color, usually gray or brown, with stripes of a bright color in the woof, close to both ends.

BASKETRY

285 Cooper (1946, p. 713) lists several kinds of basketry made of plant fibers: the chaiwe, made of voqui and used as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the llepü, a flat, round platter form made of colihüe; and the küllko, a large basket, made of copihue. He also gives the loyo and the yole as basketry containers—the loyo, of very fine weave, made of colihüe; the yole, of bejucos.

Basketry used by my informants were the wilal (a carrying bag), the küllko (a carrying and storage basket), the chaiwe (a sieve, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the llepü (a winnowing tray).

285 452 W[illegible] (pls. 12, *1*; 58, *1*) are netted from cord made of ñocha, a grass found in damp places. (See p. 101 for cord making.) Both adults and children make them. They vary in size from small ones, convenient for the use of small children, to large ones used in transporting fish to market. An in-between size is used for storage, being hung on fire racks or on pegs on ruka walls. In shape a wilal is either spherical or oblong. The opening ends either in a braid of three strands of ñocha through which a cord of ñocha is passed, or in loops of ñocha cord which are attached at intervals and through which a cord is inserted as a drawstring. A wilal may have two short handles for carrying purposes or two long adjustable straps. Straps permit carrying by hand or suspension from the shoulder or the head. Handles and straps are braided ñocha.

For the making of a wilal, a 13-year-old boy had gathered ñocha and laid it in the sun to dry. "Because we had so little sunshine and so much rain while I was making it," he explained, "it took me 8 days to make it. If my father had not helped me roll the cord, it would have taken longer than that." The wilal was oblong in shape, 13 inches deep, and 10 inches wide. Its meshes were ½ by ½ inch. It had an adjustable 53-inch-long braided carrying strap. A 24-inch draw cord was attached in such a manner that the opening could be closed, or, if he wished to form compartments in the wilal, he could use the cord to lace the wilal either horizontally or vertically. Two bottles were thus carried, in vertical position, one in each compartment; in one instance, eggs were placed in one compartment and tomatoes in the other. Chances for breakage were lessened thereby. A 6-year-old boy carried his school papers and six eggs in a spherical wilal. His mother had put the six eggs into the bottom, laced the wilal horizontally over them, and then put his school papers in the upper compartment and laced the opening. The mother had netted the wilal, but an older brother had collected the fochs and made the cords. The wilal was 6 inches at greatest width, and 3 inches at the opening. A 30-inch carrying strap allowed it to be suspended from the shoulder, but since the boy was carrying eggs this day, he had shortened the strap and was carrying it by hand.

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Kilko are generally woven of voqui by women specialists. The weaving must be loose enough to allow water to pass in and out of the basket "in case I want to wash potatoes of dirt, for example, as I walk home with them through a river." Coñaripe women favor voqui of the copihue; it is found throughout the area. Some women use voqui of pallpall.

The kilko shown in plate 46, 4, was made of copihue voqui by a Coñaripe woman (pl. 46, 1) who had become a specialist in making these baskets to help support her family, her husband being a nonlandowner in the area. Her school-age children had obtained the voqui from wooded lands nearby. The kilko measured 12 inches across at the handle and 14 inches at right angles to it; its depth was 8 inches. In general, these baskets approximated 14 to 16 inches in length, 14 inches in width, and 8 to 10 inches in depth. Small kilkos were made for small children. "These were for useful purposes; not for play."

Chaiwe (pl. 46, 5) are twined of voqui of [illegible]. They must be so loosely made as to allow liquids to drain off freely. Specialists in kilko making also make chaiwe. In general, chaiwe are pot shaped, and are from 8 to 10 inches at greatest diameter and from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The chaiwe illustrated is 10 inches at greatest diameter, 8½ inches at shortest diameter, and 8½ inches deep.

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Llepü (winnowing trays) (pl. 46, 3) are made of quila. Men make them, using the coil technique. "It takes a strong hand to do this weaving, for it has to be very tight." Their shape is that of a conical

235 fractures. If given reasonable care, a lepü will give 10 years of service. The lepü I saw were 2 to 4 inches deep, 14 to 15 inches in diameter at the bottom, 20 to 23 inches in diameter across the top, and 3 to 5 inches along slanting sides.

POTTERY MAKING

323 [462] Pottery making is the work of women. The traditional ollas (pot-like containers) and cántaros (juglike containers, pl. 43, 1) are still the chief articles made and are still used in many households. Schoolgirls older than 12 had made useful miniatures of ollas and cántaros, and also whorls for spindles.

Brown and black clays are used in pottery making. An Alepúe woman found black clay "for these cántaros, near the Pacific; none around here [on the hills] is any good. I searched for three days and finally found this." Another woman had used brown clay. "I know one piece of land in which there is much of it; most of the women get it there."

As an adhesive, women were using finely ground pumice found both along river beds and on the shores of the Pacific. "It is a smooth white stone; pounding it to powder takes longer than shaping an olla." A mixture of clay and pumice is saturated with water, and then well worked with the hands.

The coil method is used in making pottery. A woman wishing to make an olla uses both hands to roll out a lump of clay on a hard surface. With this roll she forms the bottom of the olla—"the bottom decides the size of what I am making." From there on, the olla is built up with one continuous coil—the end of one roll and the beginning of the next are joined by being pinched together. As the building process proceeds, shaping is done. Also the woman, at certain stages, pats the molding with both hands simultaneously, with one on the outside and the other on the inside, and then smooths both inside and outside surfaces by rubbing them. Great care is exercised to make the inside surface very smooth—positively no rough spots must be left for food to adhere to. When completely molded the outer surface is made still smoother by being rubbed with the back of a mussel shell ([illegible]) in Alepúe area; and with the tip of a cow's horn in Panguipulli area. "But the inside, I again rub with my finger tips so I can feel any rough spots I may have missed."

The olla must be dried gradually; if dried fast, it may collapse. In general, it is kept away from the fire for a week—"it depends upon the weather." Then it is put into a [illegible] and hung at some distance above the fire but close enough to be affected by its warmth. After two weeks it is set at the edge of the fire and left there for several days, "until the feel of my hands tells me it is ready to be set directly on the fire." After several hours on the fire, it is ready to be used for cooking purposes. A cántaro is made in the same manner as an olla, except for its shape. Since a cántaro is not used for cooking, the firing process ends after it has been hardened at the edge of the fire. 323

The two cántaros shown on the bench in plate 45, *1*, were being used for carrying and storing water. The one to the left is 7 inches deep; the one to the right, 9 inches; both are 3 inches wide at the opening. The little "tail" on the one at the left facilitates pouring.

All the pottery I saw was undecorated. Most of it was black, though some was brown; and several cántaros in Alepúe area were of a reddish color, produced by smearing a coating of red clay over the pottery. In Panguipulli and Alepúe areas pottery "of a different color than that made by the Mapuche" is sometimes turned up when plowing. Such pottery is spoken of as tralki; that made by the Araucanians themselves, as [illegible]. Félix José records (1916, vol. 1, p. 223) tralki as probably having been the work of Spaniards.

SILVERSMITHING

Specialists formerly knew the art of silversmithing—an art, it appears, now lost. "I know it was done by hammering silver nuggets or silver coins, but that is all I have heard anyone else say about it, also," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "If we want any silver ornaments, we buy them from Chileans. It is said that these Chileans traded them in when Mapuche needed flour or clothing. I know that some of these Chileans robbed old Mapuche graves to get them." An Alepúe man had heard it said that occasionally a man had all the silver trimmings of his horse's harness melted down and had silver ornaments made for his wife. In Alepúe area today a Chilean makes creditable copies of old ornaments. "This [illegible] was made by him; he made it to resemble one my mother owns." A 12-year-old schoolgirl wore earrings made by him, "like the ones women formerly wore, my grandmother told me." 325

SUMMARY

This account is based almost entirely on data collected by the writer and a field assistant in 1946-47 during personal interviews with 79 Araucanians in areas around Alepúe, Panguipulli, Coñaripe, and Boroa in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia in Chile. 105

The literature calls these people Araucanians; they call themselves

Mapuche. Culturally they were and are an agricultural people; today they also raise cattle and sheep. Linguistically they are, along with the Argentine Araucanians, an independent family, their language being known as Araucanian.

Prenatal factors.—Of a childless couple, the woman is believed to be the sterile person. By means of medicinal preparations, it is said, either sterility or fertility can be produced. According to Cooper's sources impotency can be brought upon an unfaithful paramour by an unmarried mother as revenge. The number of children in the families interviewed varied from 3 to 11.

Prenatal period.—The period of gestation is reckoned by the moon; only the approximate time of delivery is known. Most informants had not thought about the time that the fetus becomes human; all agreed that it is human at birth.

Abortifacients—some being common knowledge, others being known only to specialists—had been used by an occasional woman, married or unmarried. Spontaneous abortions also occurred.

Boys were, and are, preferred to girls. Girls, however, are in no way made to feel unwanted. Drinking a specific medicinal preparation known to few is said to bring about the conception of a boy. There is no preference regarding the first-born.

It is believed that an expectant mother, because of certain physical reactions, can predict the sex of her child, and that other persons can do so because of the presence or absence of certain facial changes in the expectant mother. A father who dreams of a falcon can expect a son. There is no belief in reincarnation.

Informants in Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas had no beliefs in prenatal food taboos. In one section of Alepúe area such beliefs exist for an expectant mother; in another section of the same area, all children and all men and women of child-bearing age are prohibited from eating jaiba, a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock. Twins could be expected if either the man or the woman ate the double yolk of an egg.

An expectant mother must not be frightened lest she abort or give premature birth; she must observe certain conduct taboos lest it affect her unborn child or its delivery.

Childbirth, and care of mother and newborn baby.—Informants insisted that a child is always born in the ruka which is its home—according to Cooper's sources it is born in a specially built one. Persons present at a delivery are the woman's husband and their children, her mother, a midwife or two, occasionally other relatives of the

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woman, and her friends. Machi (shaman) are not present, unless the woman or baby becomes sick.

Formerly midwifery was practiced by women only, unless the family was too poor to pay the fee asked for, in which case the husband of the woman delivered the child. There is no set fee for delivery; generally none is asked for. Today, in Alepúe area, several middle-aged men can be called upon to deliver a woman.

For several days preceding delivery, the woman drinks a specific herbal decoction. No remedy to alleviate labor pains was known to my informants; Cooper mentions one as being used in recent times.

A woman kneels in giving birth, bracing herself by gripping two upright poles or clutching a rope suspended from rafters. The midwife assists delivery by pressure on the woman's abdomen. In a difficult delivery, a midwife, an expert in such cases, is called upon. If she fails to deliver the baby, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth and the machi is hired to perform a machitun. Stillbirths occur. Parents give thanks to God, once the child is born, and ask Him to help the child to live and grow to maturity. Following delivery the mother drinks an herbal decoction.

The baby's birth is not announced or celebrated. Nor is the mother or baby fumigated. Usually the family and those who assisted at the birth partake of a substantial meal of lamb or mutton following a birth.

The navel cord is cut by an assisting woman, who also attends to the navel. Formerly the cord was always saved, and usually is today; disposition of it differed in different areas. If being gagged does not cause the woman to expel the placenta, she is made to vomit. Secundines, including placenta, were always buried in the ruka formerly; occasionally, in more recent times, they are buried outside the ruka. No informant knew of a child born with a caul.

To prevent blindness, a child's eyes are treated with the sap of a specific plant. The closing of the fontanels is believed to be related to physical and mental development. To keep winds from blowing through fontanels, the baby's head was formerly covered with soft moss; today, a cap is used.

To make certain that the child's face will be round—a trait considered beautiful and true Araucanian—the mother massages and shapes the baby's head and face. A low hairline on the forehead, an Araucanian trait, is not desired; hairs are pulled out to heighten it.

Following delivery the mother rests quietly for about two hours after which she walks to the family bathing place—lake, river, or ocean—and there wades directly into deep water. Occasionally, the

105 old custom of dipping the baby into cold water immediately after birth is adhered to, one of the attending women doing so.

A mother bathes her child frequently during infancy and childhood; some do so daily. Generally it is bathed in the family bathing place or in cold water in the ruka. An occasional mother bathes it in lukewarm water or in a decoction.

Postnatal interests.—Formerly a child's ears were pierced immediately after birth; more recently, only those of a girl are pierced—often not until she is 2 or 3 months old. Only one piercing was, and is, made in each ear. Anyone may do the piercing. Formerly, and occasionally today, relatives are invited to a plentiful meal on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with design. Nose and lips were not pierced.

Chafing was prevented by frequent bathing. Pieces of chamall (homewoven cloth) served as diapers; today, occasionally, pieces of cotton cloth are used. A child that walks wears its diaper in skirtlike fashion. The method of training in toilet habits was not ascertained.

Traditionally the cradle is made by the man before the birth of his first child and is used by all subsequent children. When no more children are expected, it is given away. A cradle is never borrowed or lent.

Two types of cradles are probably traditional: one with a band of wood attached to a backrest, and the other, a bandless one with backrest attached to two poles or boards. The bandless type is not known in Alepúe area. The cradle is made unceremonially; no part is ornamented and no toys are attached to it. Hammocks are not used.

A child is tied to its cradle until it is able to walk. Until then it is generally transported in its cradle. A child able to walk is transported short distances in its mother's arms or astride, in front of her, on horseback.

Both nonsense-syllabled and burden-syllabled lullabies are sung to babies.

The appearance of the first tooth is recognized as proper physical development; an occasional family today makes an event of its appearance, but it is not traditional to do so. To soothe teething jaws they are washed with a decoction; no hard substance is given upon which to bite to hurry teething. If the deciduous teeth are slow in falling out, an herbal preparation is applied to the child's gums. When the deciduous teeth come out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka (Coñaripe area) or thrown into a bush of chupón (Alepúe area), places where dogs cannot get at them.

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The child is expected to creep when a year old; at 2 years it is expected to walk. The child's first step, first walk, first laugh, and first words are noted as progress in its development, but are not celebrated as an event. Until proper toilet habits have been learned, both boys and girls are dressed in skirtlike diapers and chamall; after that, in clothes patterned after those of adults.

Nursing, weaning.—While the mother is bathing, following delivery, one of the attending women who knows how, relieves the baby of the phlegm in its throat. Upon the mother's return from her bath, she nurses the baby, and does so thereafter whenever it cries. If the mother has no milk flow, she drinks a mixture of extract of a root and flowing water, and also washes her breasts with it. To increase the milk flow, she eats large quantities of available foods, drinking with them cold and warm water alternately. Today, an occasional mother supplements an insufficient supply of her own milk by feeding the baby commercially condensed milk mixed with water.

A baby that cries for reasons other than hunger is thought to be sick and remedial measures are resorted to; occasionally a machi is asked to perform over it. A child is always nursed until it is a year old; seldom when older than two.

A child is weaned by being given solid foods gradually and then eventually being separated from its mother for several days. An occasional child sucks its finger.

Atypical conditions.—Twins were known to have been born to Araucanians, but no other multiple births were known to have occurred. Treatment of twins differed in different areas—from loving them and treating them like other children, to killing one of them.

Incest is a disgrace. It was not known to have occurred between siblings, or between mother and son, but other rare instances were spoken of.

An unmarried pregnant woman loses the esteem of others, and her family feels disgraced. Her parents, formerly, tried to force a marriage with her paramour; when unsuccessful in this, the woman was generally sent from her home and usually delivered her child without assistance. Occasionally an abortion is attempted; in some instances, it is known, the child was killed at birth. In general, however, the child is cared for in the home of its mother where it is well treated and not blamed or stigmatized. Not infrequently the mother takes it with her when she marries.

A child very rarely was, or is today, born deformed. Formerly, a child so born or one born mentally deficient was killed. Sick children are given small or diluted dosages of herbal decoctions. Those failing

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105 to cure, a machi is asked to perform over the child. No Araucanian was known to have been born blind, or to be color blind; deafness is very rare. Left-handed children and adults were met; so were stutterers.

No Araucanian child is ever without a home: a deserted or orphaned child is adopted; in instances, also, one from a normal home is adopted.

Servants were not institutional; second and third wives probably rendered all services needed. Neither was slavery institutional, unless persons held as hostages and not redeemed could be looked upon as such.

Names.—According to informants, the child was given its personal name by its father, usually on the day of its birth (especially if a boy); occasionally, not until it was a year old; rarely, not until it was 2 years of age. According to Cooper's sources, the naming feast followed the days of the mother's seclusion after delivery, usually after 8 days, or sooner.

Either the father selected the name and gave it without ceremony, or someone outside the family selected it, and either this person or the father gave it at a naming ceremony. The name was generally that of a relative. In instances these customs still prevail. Occasionally a boy's name is changed.

The origin of names is not clear. In all probability names did not originate in dreams—unless those of the machi did—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. It appears that each machi was given a new name. No informant had heard of a naming or kinship system known as the kuga or kunpeñ.

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine ones; no prefixes or suffixes are added to indicate gender. Araucanians had no surnames until Whites introduced them for important permanent records. The father's personal name then became the child's surname.

A nickname may be attached to an individual. Elders often call a girl by a diminutive of her name as an expression of affection.

The family.—Members of all families, especially those of a cacique, were, and are today, expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. All families, today, that live according to accepted social standards and whose economic direction is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect, and are respected by others. No one in any area was spoken of as owning excessive amounts of land, oxen, cattle, or sheep—the measure of wealth. A family's need is the criterion of its possessions;

excessive amounts over needs may arouse jealousy, and jealousy may cause disaster through black art. It appears that each person has a right to own land in the area in which his father lived; attempts to acquire land in other areas are usually futile.

The wearing of a hat by male members of the family, and shoes by all members, gives a family status—it indicates to others that the family has acquired means beyond the immediate necessities of life. A family in which one parent is non-Araucanian is not held in high esteem; neither is a family in which there is continuous quarreling, or in which there is a thief.

The man dominates the family. On the whole, men seemed considerate of their wives and were helpful when needed. The impression given in the literature that women were slaves to their husbands was not substantiated by my observations. Occasionally, however, a man did beat his wife to the extent that she committed suicide. In many things the man confers with his wife, but it is he, as the father of the family, who makes the decisions, and they are final.

Members of a family have an appreciative interest in each other. Affection is mutual between parents and children, and is lifelong, generally. An occasional father is cruel, even brutal, to his children. Having a favorite child is not institutional. There are no brother-sister taboos today. Although one very old informant related that brothers and sisters in the early days spoke little to each other, it is doubtful that there was a taboo.

Children's behavior.—A very small child is bathed by its mother when the mother takes her own bath which is usually daily in all seasons, generally just before sundown. Older children take their own baths. All bathing is done in running water or in lakes. Girls of a family bathed at one time; their brothers at another time. Bathers scatter along the shore, some distance apart. No soap or substitute is used.

The hair is washed when bathing and is occasionally shampooed with suds made from bark. Winds do the drying. If a luster is desired, the hair is rinsed in human urine. Formerly, a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut Chilean fashion. Formerly, a girl's hair was never cut; not infrequently, today, it is. A girl's hair hangs loose or is twisted or braided. It is held from the face by means of a band. Rarely are children infested with lice.

Girls today wear earrings; boys seldom do. Many boys and girls wear one or several rings; none wears a necklace. Both beauty and personal appearance are taken note of.

Chums are not institutional, but an occasional boy or girl has one.

105 Children of an age group usually play together when small; when older, the sexes play apart. Friendships exist within each group.

Leadership among children is not pronounced. Oratorical ability is taken into consideration when the choice of a leader must be made. Oratory gives distinction to elders, also. Joviality and fun is part of the child's life. A child's sight and powers of observation are keen.

Araucanians have no puberty rites, but cognizance of puberty is taken, for after it a boy is called "young man"; a girl, "young woman." In instances a mother or older sister instructs a girl regarding first menses and motherhood; it is not institutional to do so. There is no taboo regarding menstruating women.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. However, their presence at birth or when a machi performs over nude persons is not in accord with standards of modesty of all cultures. Children are taught courtesy in a positive way. They are also taught to give and to share, and are trained to obey an order without hesitation.

Pride in being an Araucanian is inherent in a child, and a child is hurt if reflections are cast upon its status. An occasional child shows jealousy, but one who does stands out prominently. Boasting and tale bearing are practically nonexistent. In general, the schoolchildren I saw had given little thought to their future.

Teasing is one of the chief amusements of children. Not infrequently it leads to quarreling, with an exchange of angry words, accompanied by hitting back and forth. Temper tantrums on the part of small children are ignored; older children seldom display temper.

An occasional child steals. Parents feel disgraced if it does so, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, but without imprecating the thief. Stealing food to satisfy hunger is quite evidently not theft. Not all fathers teach their sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a young son if he becomes intoxicated.

Adult behavior.—As noted above, many adults bathe in flowing water daily in all seasons. No soap or substitute is used except for the hair, for which suds of soap or bark are used. Today most men have a haircut like the Chileans; an occasional man, especially an old cacique, wears it cut ear-lobe length, or he wears it, as formerly, in long braids. A woman's hair is never cut. She parts it, usually over the crown, and then either braids or twists each part. Two plants are used by women as hair tonics.

A man is proud of his mustache. The beard, usually sparse in growth, is depilated. Heavy beards and whiskers are shaved.

In the early days caciques wore a distinct style of earring; other

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men, with rare exceptions, wore none. Women wore them, and also neck pieces and bracelets. Formerly men also probably wore bracelets. Nose rings were never worn. Brown is accepted as the Araucanian skin color. Body or face painting was not institutional. A nose like the bill of the bandurria (bird) is a matter of pride; a mother will massage her child's nose to shape it thus. Both men and women have an interest in their personal appearance.

Special friendships between two men, a man and a woman, or between two families exist, and find expression in a ceremonial. Courtesy is an outstanding virtue of the Araucanians. In some forms and on specific occasions it must follow conventions. Hospitality among Araucanians themselves and toward strangers is most gracious. Willingness to help can be relied upon, especially in a neighborhood group.

An expression of appreciation of an individual's intelligence is the finest compliment that can be paid the person. Differences in intelligence, however, are recognized. Patience is a virtue of all Araucanians, especially of women. Standards of modesty exist. In general, young women live chaste lives; married women even more so. In general, too, men show respect for women.

Prolonged feuds between families seldom occur, though sporadic quarrels arise. Within the family the father is known to give vent to anger toward his wife and children; he demands obedience from both. Quarreling occurs between persons and families, but not often.

Prolonged quarreling between husband and wife is of rare occurrence, for usually the wife gives in. An occasional one who does not may then be beaten by her husband to the extent that she will hang herself. Outside the family revenge is taken by harming fields or persons through witchcraft. Insulting, vile, and imprecating expressions are used by angry persons. Both suicide and murder occurred, but seldom. Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

According to Chilean policemen, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. Offenses that occasionally warrant arrests are theft and injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during intoxication. Drinking to excess is done only when in a group. Women rarely drink to excess.

Teaching the child.—Today, as formerly, teachers of the child are its parents and brothers and sisters, with parents as chief instructors; grandparents, only then when they fill the place of parents. Both parents train a small child. As it grows older the mother trains the girl in women's work, the father, the boy in a man's responsibilities. Both parents share character training.

In general, the small child has great freedom; seldom is it punished. Children learn by direct instruction, by imitating elders in work or

105 play, or by actual participation, and by listening in and being nonparticipant observers. Demonstrations and diagrams are used to clarify instructions. Once old enough to comprehend, the child is taught with intent. Having to repeat information is resented; children are ordered to concentrate upon a thing to be learned.

A child is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Small children are corrected with "hatch"; older ones are spoken to in subdued, sometimes stern, words. A child that has reached the age of reason is taught to conform to accepted standards of behavior, and is obliged to do so, by coercion if necessary. Rarely is a child threatened with punishment by supernatural powers, frightened, ridiculed, ignored, mocked, nagged, coaxed, bribed, or compared with other children, in order to force it to conform. Parents are aware that children vary in response to training. No explanation was given for a difficult child.

At present, children have opportunities to attend either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of education. Attendance is compulsory, and all children attend for at least several years. Parents are more interested in having their sons than their daughters attend school, for sons must be prepared to deal with Chileans.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one parent is non-Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from area to area. Many children learn at home to read and write Araucanian. Teaching in school is done in Spanish.

Oratory, the ability to carry on formal conversation, and facility in speaking well at any time, are held in esteem. Formerly, every boy was given training in all three; today many are still so trained. Sons of caciques were given special training in oratory and memorizing.

The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. Schoolboys were able to count from 1 to 1,000 in their language. Beginners in school use fingers of both hands when counting, and continue on toes, if the number exceeds ten. No method of keeping count was known to informants of the present study. Cooper's informants reported the use of the knotted cord.

The time of day is reckoned by the position of the sun, or the location of sunrays; shadows are not taken into account in telling time. On cloudy or rainy days, hunger indicates the approximate time of day. At night, time is calculated either before or after the moon at zenith. Days are not grouped into weeks. The moon regulates a span of time equivalent to months, but it is doubtful that the months

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had names in the early days. Seasons are noted as they occur. Depending on the informant, there were formerly two, four, five, or seven seasons. Equinoxes, too, are noted. Formerly, years were accounted for by being associated with an important or unusual event.

Weather is favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time. Each area studied had its own way of forecasting the weather, which was affected by ocean currents, ocean winds, mountains, and the seasons. Wind is thought to cause lightning. Thunder is God's way of letting the people know that He has been offended. It appears that little significance was attached to stars, constellations, and an eclipse of the moon; an eclipse of the sun formerly omened something undesirable, and does so today. The four cardinal directions are usually indicated by surrounding places (in the Cordillera; at the coast) or locations (near the river; in the valley), rather than by Araucanian words for them.

The pointed end of a cow's horn, a seashell, and a whistle are used in signaling today. (Smoke signaling was recorded by one of Cooper's sources.)

Linear measurements are made by eye, hand, and arm; the Chilean meter, vara, and daven are also used. Material for clothing is meas*ured by being fitted to the wearer. Quantity measurements are the* traditional ones of pinches, handfuls, the head end of an ox horn, to which has been added the Chilean almud. *Distance traveled is* measured by time consumed in riding there on horseback.

Diversions.—Visiting, outside the family, is done primarily among relatives. Usual topics of conversation are work, and events and news of the day. Araucanians are good conversationalists.

Activities of small children are often enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting. Fables are told when children are listening in; other interesting stories are told at any time. When conversation lags, men (never women) play a game of chance with coins. In recent years smoking has become a recreational habit for young people and adults. Children do not smoke.

Musical instruments at present are a whistle, a wind instrument, and two types of bugle; none of these was used, traditionally, for recreational purposes. According to Cooper's sources, a battery drum, a drum made of a tree trunk, a flute, and a panpipe should be added to the above. I heard the guitar and harmonica played as accompaniment to songs and social dances. Social dancing is not traditional; the singing of folk songs and ballads is.

Competitive and other games were played by children, young people, and adults. These included tag, tossing a handkerchief, spinning tops, "play of the rooster," marbles, quoits, hockey, and football.

Toys, including dolls, were not part of the Araucanian child's play life; sticks and stones, chicks and kittens were. Imitative play, such as riding horses, playing house, or visiting, and playing getting drunk, are favorite pastimes of small children. Older boys play with marbles, balls, and tops. Older girls mold marbles, miniature pottery, and whorls for spindles.

In general, children like animals and treat them kindly. Chicks and kittens may be pets; lambs seldom are; dogs, never—not even of older boys; older boys favor horses. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits, never. Children identify wild birds and tell of animals that talk to each other.

According to Cooper's sources Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers. Today every boy and girl learns to ride horseback. Boys shoot with slingshots.

Health.—Maintaining the good will of others so that sickness will not be brought upon one by them, and chasing the spirits of ill health from the area by means of a shamanistic performance are the only preventives of ill health known. All ill health is believed to be inflicted by poisoning or by persons who are believed to have power to do so through black art.

Midwives, professional herbalists, and machi (shamans, both men and women) possess knowledge of medicinal herbs, roots, and barks. Such knowledge originates in dreams; it can be shared with others or be bought by them. Household remedies are known to lay persons. Curatives are decoctions, poultices, heat, vapor baths, inhalations, and bloodletting. Curatives not used are bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, and tattooing. Personal sacrifice and change of name are not resorted to as restorative measures. Sick children are treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions are weaker.

A machi is called upon to perform when home curatives have failed. In rare instances a machi performs over a sick child. The performance is at night.

A machi studies to be a professional one of his own volition, or because parents choose the profession as a life's work for a child, or because of a compulsive dream. Shamanistic procedures are learned during an apprenticeship with a professional shaman, but a candidate can learn new skills independently from some invisible source and also enhance them by exchange with other shamans. Shamanistic powers are renewed annually when the copihues are in bloom.

Psychosis is rare. It is believed to be brought about by the will of another through evil spirits, as a retaliation. Children of low mentality, too, are rare.

Marriage.—Until recent years polygyny was the customary form of marriage, with two wives as the prevailing number. A man could, however, marry as many women as he was able to pay the bride price for. Today polygynous marriages are looked at askance, but there were several such marriages in each area.

Simultaneous wives sometimes lived in one ruka; each wife then had her own fireplace, or occasionally all wives used the same one. More often, probably, each wife lived in a separate ruka. Wives, in some instances, took turns cooking for all the families of a husband; in other instances, each wife cooked for her own children only. The first wife a man married gave orders to his other wives and had priority rights in other matters. Although, in general, simultaneous wives lived peacefully, exceedingly trying situations, with consequent suicide by one of the wives, occurred.

Polyandry was never part of the Araucanian culture. In all probability there was no wife lending, despite Cooper's sources. The idea of daughter lending was repellent. Promiscuity occurred, and occurs today, but is rare. Homosexuality among young men was reported as a common thing.

Cross-cousin marriage is institutional, with preference for marriage between a woman's children and those of her brother. Prohibited marriages are those between parallel cousins, between children of one wife (in case of simultaneous wives) and those of another wife, between a man and one of his father's widows, between a man and his paternal or maternal grandmother, and between a woman and her paternal or maternal grandfather. Both sororate and levirate were institutional, but not obligatory.

Persons were of marriageable age when they had reached the twenties; most men were married before they reached the thirties. In general, the man was a few years older than the first woman he married. This is still the case today. Succeeding wives were usually much younger than the man.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman; a man is ready for marriage when he knows how to support a family and has the wherewithal to do so. There is a proper procedure in the choice of a mate and an accepted traditional marriage ceremonial with payment of the bride price. Kidnaping and eloping, too, are traditional, but they are not considered proper ways to marry. Today, the accepted traditional way is seldom followed. If a young man is unable to pay the bride price, or is unwilling to do so, and finds his

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105 father in agreement with him, an elopement follows. Occasionally a woman was, and is today, forced into marriage entirely against her will. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will nearly always go to the home of the man who is the father of her child. She may or may not be accepted there. Today a civil marriage is performed preceding a religious one in accordance with Chilean law. Many today marry without a ceremony of any kind. Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively.

Formal divorce is not a custom; separation by agreement is, but it is rare; desertions occur more often. In either case children are taken care of. Infidelity on the wife's part was rare, but a husband was justified in whipping or dismissing a wife who had been or was suspected of having been unfaithful. Such a woman's face was not disfigured, but in Panguipulli area the husband was known to have cut the hair off one side of an unfaithful wife's head.

According to Cañete informants mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos are institutional; so are father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos, but to a lesser degree. Alepúe and Panguipulli area informants insisted that neither ever existed. Joking relationships were probably not conventional.

Religion and supernatural powers.—The Supreme Being, the only deity, is spoken of as the creator of the world, or master of the land, or ruler of the earth, and as the ruler of the world, or lord of all creation, or master or ruler of men. According to Cooper's sources, the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him.

The appearance or essence of the Supreme Being had not been given much thought. He had with Him in His abode a woman, and these two had sons and daughters. The location of the abode was not known. The Supreme Being was prayed to either directly, or through the women or the deceased leaders of the tribal religious ceremonial, or the deceased machi.

Private prayer, often accompanied by small sacrificial offerings, was not uncommon. Belief in a guardian spirit is not part of the Araucanian culture. Belief in personal power of supernatural origin, however, is. The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian. The belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is of recent origin.

The tribal religious ceremonial—a celebration with sacrificial offerings and prayers lasting several days—was formerly held several times each year; more recently, only once a year, or when the need

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indicates it. It is held for the welfare of all the people, especially those attending the ceremonial. 105

Black art is practiced by witches, both men and women, upon persons or property, in revenge. Witches are hired and exercise their art through an object as a medium. Being a witch is not a profession, such as being a machi is, but occasionally a machi is a witch, also.

Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but it does not seem to have been resorted to often. Both good and bad omens were believed in, but neither seems to have had any great significance.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Nocturnal calls of certain animals foretell death. Death is unfailingly caused by poisoning, except in cases of accident, violence, or suicide. In Coñaripe area, having oneself photographed is also believed to be a cause of death.

Relatives of a dying person are summoned and remain until after the burial. The dying person is generally dressed in his best clothes. There are no facial or skin decorations. Formerly, personal silver accessories were buried with the person. According to Cooper's sources the rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period and region, *and also according to the rank, [illegible] sex, and age of the deceased.* Only a few of the customs recorded by him exist today.

Women and children in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, but not in Alepúe area, attend burials. Burials of related families have always been in the same cemetery. Formerly each grave had a wooden marker; today, nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

The abode of the dead was believed to be in the volcanoes. The journey there begins immediately after death, but an occasional spirit haunts the ruka it inhabited in life, and also the area about it, and does annoying things. Only vague ideas regarding life after death exist.

Formerly, there were no exterior signs of mourning; today, customs of Chileans are often followed.

Tribal government.—Formerly, the cacique was the head of the local unit of government, that is, an area occupied generally by related families. He was assisted by men of his choice. Laws were made by the male population, acting as a body, but the cacique was responsible for their interpretation and enforcement. At the cacique's death his eldest son inherited his place, unless the people did not recognize this son as an able man, in which case another son was designated; or if no son was considered capable, a man from another family was selected. When the men assembled to select a cacique, women had the right to express an opinion.

Although a cacique had no emblem of power, he was easily distinguishable in a gathering by a stone suspended from his neck, and by a distinct earring which he wore.

Although the present-day government is influenced, and sometimes controlled, by Chilean provincial and national governments, Chilean authorities recognize the relationship of the cacique to his people, and consider him at least a liaison between themselves and his people. A cacique, today as formerly, presides at meetings of his people, presents their requests to Chilean Government officials, and sets the date for the performance of the tribal religious ceremonial. Formerly, it appears, a cacique could take land from one who had more than he needed and give it to someone who stood in need of it. Formerly, too, offenders were punished by their caciques. If an offense involved persons subject to more than one cacique, joint action was taken by the caciques concerned. At present the Chilean Government enforces law and order.

Today, an Araucanian man who possesses an identification card, which the Chilean Government issues to any man eligible to vote who requests one, has the privilege of voting at all Chilean elections; a woman holding such a card may vote at local elections, a right of all eligible Chilean women. Araucanian men vote; no one knew of an Araucanian woman who had done so. Taxes are levied by the Chilean Government on land owned by Araucanians.

Land, subsistence, and trade.—Araucanians were, and are, land owners—they are an agricultural and grazing people. There are no villages. Usually, related families live within an area limited by natural boundaries. Within this area land claimed by individuals or families is marked off by fences or natural boundaries. Unclaimed and wooded lands are owned in common. Wooded land is cleared by burning.

Formerly, each cacique had a record of owners of land in his area; today ownership is recorded with the Chilean Government, and every owner is expected to hold a Government-issued deed to lands he claims. Araucanians today are also subject to Chilean inheritance laws regarding land. Araucanians fear that recent Chilean legislation regarding their land is jeopardizing their ownership of it.

No Araucanian claims exclusive rights to areas where strawberries grow, or to banks of rivers from which fishing is done, shores of the Pacific where seafoods are gathered, or coves on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are landed and dry-docked.

Until recent years seeds of wild grass, now nearly extinct, were harvested as food, but wheat was also cultivated. According to Guevara, agricultural implements formerly used were the wooden bar

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or pick, the wooden spade or shovel, and perforated stones for crushing lumps of earth; today a wooden or metal plow drawn by oxen is the chief implement. Cultivated lands today, as formerly, lie in burnt-over areas or natural glades. Fields are not fertilized but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two seasons. Seeding is done by hand. Both fields and gardens, many believe, should be planted when the moon is waning. Parrots are a pest both at planting and at harvest time.

Grain is cut with a sickle, unless a small amount is needed before harvest time, in which case ears are plucked by hand, as formerly. Usually harvesting is done by all the family. Formerly threshing was done by persons tramping on ears of grain to the rhythm of songs, or by horses tramping on the ears in an enclosure; both methods are used today. In Coñaripe, in 1947, threshing was done by a steam-propelled engine owned by Chileans. Threshing done, an abundant meal is served with an oversupply of chicha.

Each family plants a good-sized potato patch and a garden of vegetables; many gardens have plants used in seasoning. Fruit trees are often located near gardens, and so are flowers.

In the early days, according to Cooper's sources, domesticated animals were the dog, ducks, guanacos, and maybe the guinea pig; neither llama nor alpaca were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were owned; and after the middle of the century, the horse. Today domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, geese, dogs, and cats. Some animals are owned by children.

Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded to show ownership. These animals are not placed under shelter, but sheep are put into corrals to protect them against pumas. Grazing lands are selected along a water's edge, and are fenced in, as are often fields and gardens. Medicinal remedies for sick animals are known.

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources, played a minor role in Araucanian economy; they are practically nonexistent today. The bow and arrow, the sling, and the two-balled bolas were used as weapons in the early days; snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and nets were also used. The puma was hunted with dogs. Old informants described the setting of snares and deadfalls and the making of traps.

According to Cooper's sources, fish were taken with nets, [illegible], and baskets baited and put under water, lines, line and hook, spears, clubs, and weirs; small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned.

Fish and shellfish were, and still are, an important Araucanian

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105 dietary element. Today Alepúe and Boroa men fish in the Pacific; Panguipulli and Coñaripe men, in Andean streams. Women along the Pacific collect shellfish.

Formerly the llama served as a pack animal; today the horse is used. Light loads are often carried by persons on or under the arms, and in baskets or netted bags on the back or head, or by hand. Heavy loads are hauled in carts or dragged by oxen. Oxcarts are made of wood; an occasional one has wagon wheels.

Short distances, today, are traveled on foot over well-trodden paths; longer distances are covered on horseback. All horseback riders sit astride in saddles constructed for riding up and down steep grades.

The traditional water crafts—the plank boat, dugout, and balsa—were in use during the present study. Generally, however, rivers are forded on foot, horseback, or oxcart. Occasionally one or several logs serve as a footbridge over a creek or narrow stream. Bridges built by Chileans are also used.

In general, only men travel to Chilean trading centers; women and girls seldom go there. Often a son accompanies his father.

In all areas today, articles are bartered and borrowed, as in times past. Araucanians had no currency formerly; today Chilean money is used to purchase commodities not produced. Such money is obtained by selling to Chileans such things as domesticated animals, seafoods, woven products, felled trees, wheat (when the harvest has been abundant), or by working as hired help. Money is borrowed by mortgaging land, oxen, or cattle.

Food, shelter, clothing.—Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, baked, smoked, and dried. Cooking is done today, as formerly, over a fire in a shallow pit in the ruka or, weather permitting, outdoors. Firewood that gives off a minimum of smoke is favored. Cooking kettles are hung from a rail, which is either suspended over the fireplace from rafters or is supported there on poles planted in the ground. Implements used in the preparation and consumption of food are traditional ones of wood, stone, earth, animal parts, and plant fibers, and commercially obtained ones of enamel, porcelain, zinc, iron, and copper.

Wild plants, today as formerly, form a substantial part of the Araucanian diet. Wild honey is often collected and used to sweeten foods.

Wheat, a basic food, is prepared in traditional dishes; so are potatoes, another important food. Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, chicken, and, occasionally, wild birds and game are roasted or are cooked with vegetables or wild plants to make thick soups or stews. Three favorite dishes of sheep or lamb are spiced lung; coagulated blood, well sea-roasted and fried or cooked with vegetables; and stomach and entrails, either fresh or smoked. Since fresh meat is available when desired, meat is not stored; an oversupply is dried over the fire and eaten soon afterward. Fish are baked or smoked. Favored dishes are prepared from shellfish and sea algae. Butter and eggs are not relished; milk is made into cheese in a manner learned from non-Araucanians.

Drinking water is brought from springs—rukas are built where there is an uncontaminated, clear, cool spring. At the end of a meal yerba maté is drunk, unless chicha is at hand; in the early days muday was the beverage.

Formerly, two meals were eaten each day, a custom which still prevails. All the family eats together, seated around the fireplace either on folded sheep pelts or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. A woman serves her husband first, then the children, then herself.

The ruka, the house of the Araucanian, is generally smaller today than formerly, for the prevailing monogamous marriages no longer require rukas to house a man's several families. An occasional family today has two rukas, one for sleeping and storage and one for cooking and working. Three types of ruka were observed during the present study: one completely of thatch, one with roof of thatch and sides of planks, and one with sides of planks and roof of logs. Rukas today, in general, are rectangular in ground plan, and gable-roofed or lean-to in shape; formerly, according to Cooper's sources, they were oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan.

Rukas have no chimney or windows; each has one entrance—some have several. More than one entrance permits the one facing unfavorable winds to be closed. Men assist each other in building the ruka. At the completion of one, a plentiful meal is served, and usually there is excessive drinking of chicha. A ruka belongs to the family, but is spoken of as belonging to the father.

The interior of a ruka is unfinished. It is lighted and heated by the fireplace which is usually a little to the front of the middle of the ruka. In this location the heat does not reach potatoes and wheat stored to the rear. Sleeping is done in corners and along walls, on pelts on the ground, unless the family has a second ruka used for sleeping. Occasionally a family has low platform beds. Coverings are homespun and homewoven blankets. A rolled-up poncho or a piece of wood serves as a pillow.

Storage space is within the ruka, in the rear of it, and on lofts, shelves, and tables. Containers used are boxes, bins, dug-out tree trunks, baskets, netted bags, gourds, animal paunches and bladders,

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105 pottery, wooden containers, and modern cans. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, hill caves were used for storage sites. The rukas are orderly and clean; and so are adjoining yards. Brooms of grass or twigs were being used.

The traditional clothing for men and boys was a sleeveless sweater, a piece of cloth secured at the waist and drawn between the legs to form pants, and a poncho. Women and girls wore a piece of cloth fastened on one or both shoulders and tied about the waist with a belt, and a shawl.

Today, with few exceptions, men, both old and young, wear pants, shirt, often a coat, and a poncho; married women more often wear the traditional clothing with a long-sleeved waist added; younger women, the dress worn by Chileans. At work, men are usually barefoot; shoes are worn by those who can afford them at fiestas, church services, and when among Chileans in trading places. Women are usually barefoot. Hats are worn by most men and many boys. Women wear silver accessories on special occasions.

A schoolboy today generally wears knee-length pants, shirt, and poncho; a schoolgirl, a dress of calico made in the Chilean style, and a shawl. Rarely do boys or girls wear shoes.

Clothes are washed in running water by being slapped with a wooden implement on the rocks or boards. Drying is done on bushes and fences near the rukas.

Domestic handicrafts.—Both men and women shear sheep. Several days before shearing, women pour a decoction on each sheep while men wash the wool with the hands. Wool is stored by being hung on fences. Preparatory to using it, boiling water is poured over it, after which it is washed with the hands in swift running water, and vigorously rubbed back and forth in it to free it of dirt and little sticks. No soap or substitute is used.

All women and girls and many boys spin wool into yarn; men rarely do so. The spindle is a single piece of wood with a slight groove near the upper end, and a whorl near the lower end. The spinner is seated with the lower end of the spindle on the ground and the upper end held loosely in the right hand. The wool is wound around the left arm and twisted into the desired thickness between index finger and thumb of right hand, and the spindle is rotated to spin the yarn. Two strands of yarn are twisted when it is to be used in weaving ponchos.

Yarn, not wool, is dyed. Dyes are obtained from native plants and from earth, and are bought at Chilean stores. Certain bright colors can be produced by boiling the yarn in a decoction of certain plants previous to dyeing, but most are obtained by the use of commercial dyes.

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Native dyes are generally set by boiling the yarn in a mixture containing human urine; commercial dyes, in a solution of alum and water. Women do the dyeing. Today dyeing is done in kettles used for cooking; formerly it was done in ollas. p5

Weaving is done on rectangular looms by women and older girls. Articles woven are ponchos, cloth for women's clothes, belts, headbands, blankets, throws, and saddle covers. Designs used have no significance; they are generally conventional ones, often merely stripes.

Traditional basketry products in use during the present study were the wilal (a carrying bag), the külko (a carrying and storage basket), the chaiwe (a sieving, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the llepü (a winnowing tray). These were made of plant fibers. Wilal are netted by adults and children; women specialists weave külko and twine chaiwe; men coil llepü.

Women make pottery by the coil method, without decorations. The traditional challa ([illegible] container) and the metawe (liquid container) are made today from brown and black clay with finely ground pumice used as adhesive. Since the challa is used as a cooking vessel, it is fired to a greater degree than is the metawe which is used to carry and store water. Glazemaking, it appears, is a lost art.

PART II

THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

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PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

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175 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written, and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173
614 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchaquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

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619
people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be bilmke. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I see no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes, along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reihueco to Carangue and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanín and Huechulafquén; another from Calafquén to Coñaripe to Pelaifa to Carriringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmaiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Emoderio Ramierful, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallín Grande to Adrailo to Aukapán to Chinquillihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Chinkipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayún, Namunkurá, Kolupan, Quinchawal, Lefin, and Ramierful were Chilean names.

175 A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great malón, a malón being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

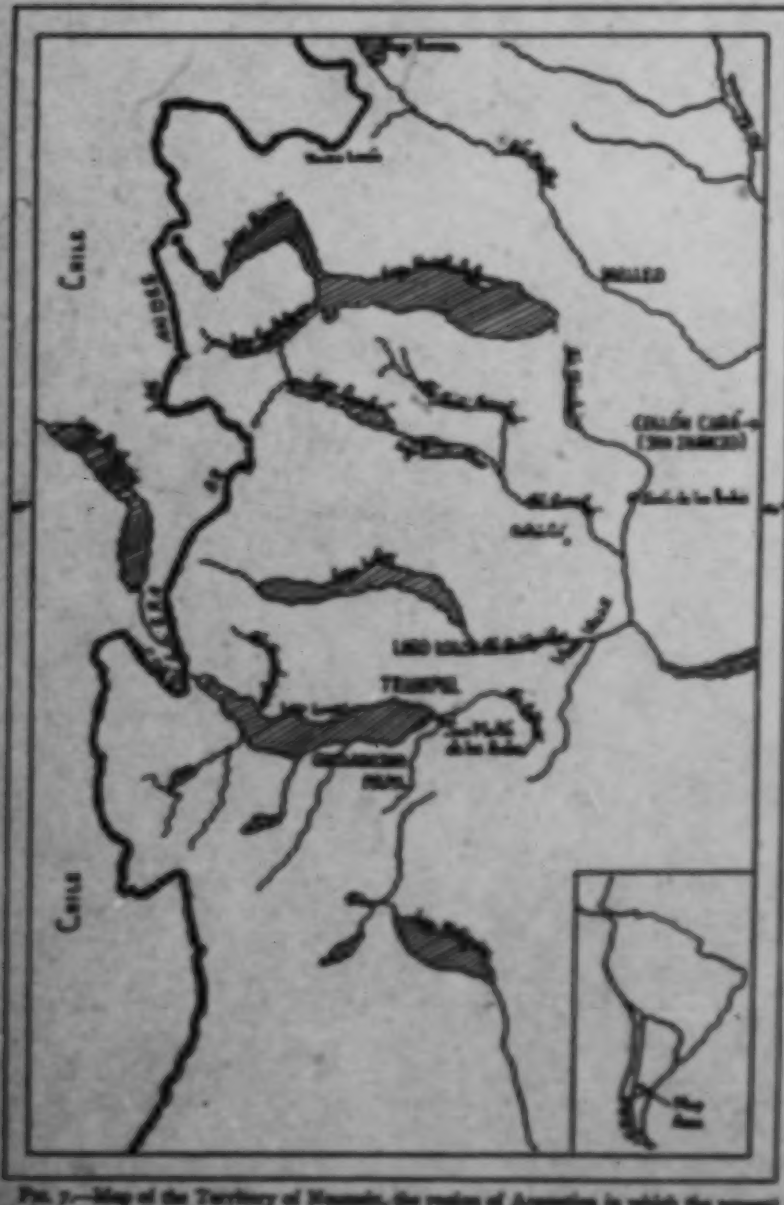

Fig. 7.—Map of the Territory of Neuquén, the region of Argentina in which the present study was made. (Based largely on a map found in Nahuel Huapí-Lanín-Los Alerces, published by the Automóvil Club Argentino y la Administración General de Parques Nacionales y Turismo, 1939, Buenos Aires.)

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101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzanero (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trompul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzanero and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government
184 regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically
[171] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

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SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 13, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 13 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 13 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had 20 children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly." 163

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that means it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that." 843 [774]

Some believe there is a flying snake that disfigures pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Arapaho (Hilger, 1952, pp. 10-11); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be reared, generally a grandchild. [77]

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trumpul 842

842 Informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842
787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775
845 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843
262 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843
784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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Argentina

heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 784

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, RECORDING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the toldo, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the toldo, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the toldo. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 69-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 844 276

845 278 rompoi;[4] if she had unusually prolonged pains or a difficult delivery, she was given a decoction of lanchen lawen (unidentified) and brotila. One woman had given her daughter (the informant) a nauseating mixture of raw egg and a preparation of toronjil during a difficult delivery. While the toronjil was being boiled in water, the mother peeled the shell off one end of an egg, then poured the boiling toronjil into the shell, and stirred it and the egg until they were well mixed. The daughter drank the mixture directly from the shell. After this the mother poked a tiny hole in one end of another egg and a somewhat larger hole into the opposite end. "I had to blow into the hole," said the daughter, "until I had blown the contents out of the other hole. It took much force, but the baby came almost immediately after I got that done."

844 The woman kneels during delivery, bearing down either by clutching with both hands one of the upright poles that support the roof, or by pulling at a rope that has been attached to a rafter. Births today must be recorded, in accordance with Argentine law.

PREMATURE BIRTHS, STILLBIRTHS

845 Rarely did a premature birth occur. One child, born after a 7-month pregnancy, "did not open its eyes for nearly four weeks, and it could not suckle either; it had to be fed with a spoon."

Stillbirths were a rare event. During my interviews regret was expressed several times regarding two women who had had stillbirths at a First Aid Station conducted by non-Araucanians. Both died while there. "Had these women stayed home, their relatives could have helped them and they might have lived." The informant, 60 years old, then told how a dead fetus was delivered: "If the mother of the woman, or whoever is attending the woman, notices that the child is not living—she will know this because the woman has been in labor a long time and cannot deliver her baby—she waits a little while longer, hoping the woman will, through her own efforts, give birth to the child. When the woman is finally sick unto death, a broad band is tied about her waist; this helps bring the child downward. Long before this, of course, the sac has opened. The mother, or whoever is helping the woman, reaches in with her hand and takes hold of the baby's head or its hair, and pulls the baby from its position. After she has the baby, she pulls at the cord, and in that way removes the

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[4] Spanish names of plants are used throughout, unless it was impossible to obtain them, in which case the Araucanian names are used. English names were not obtained. Cf. Appendix B, Plants used by the Araucanians.

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Argentina

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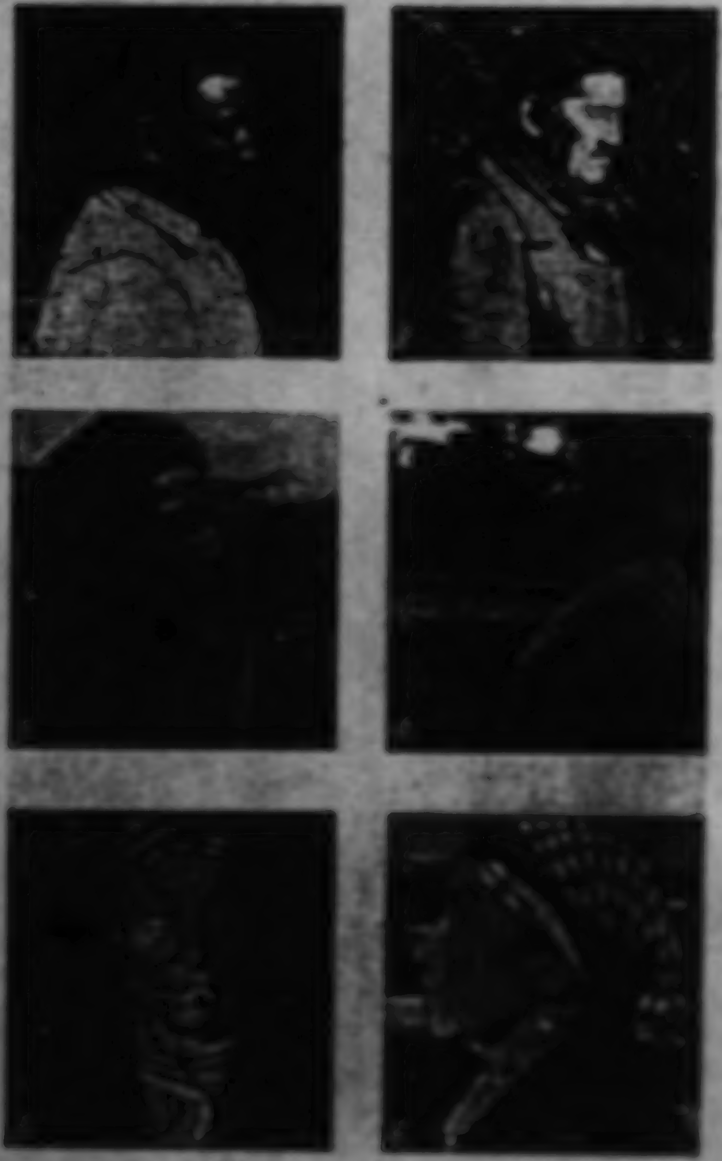

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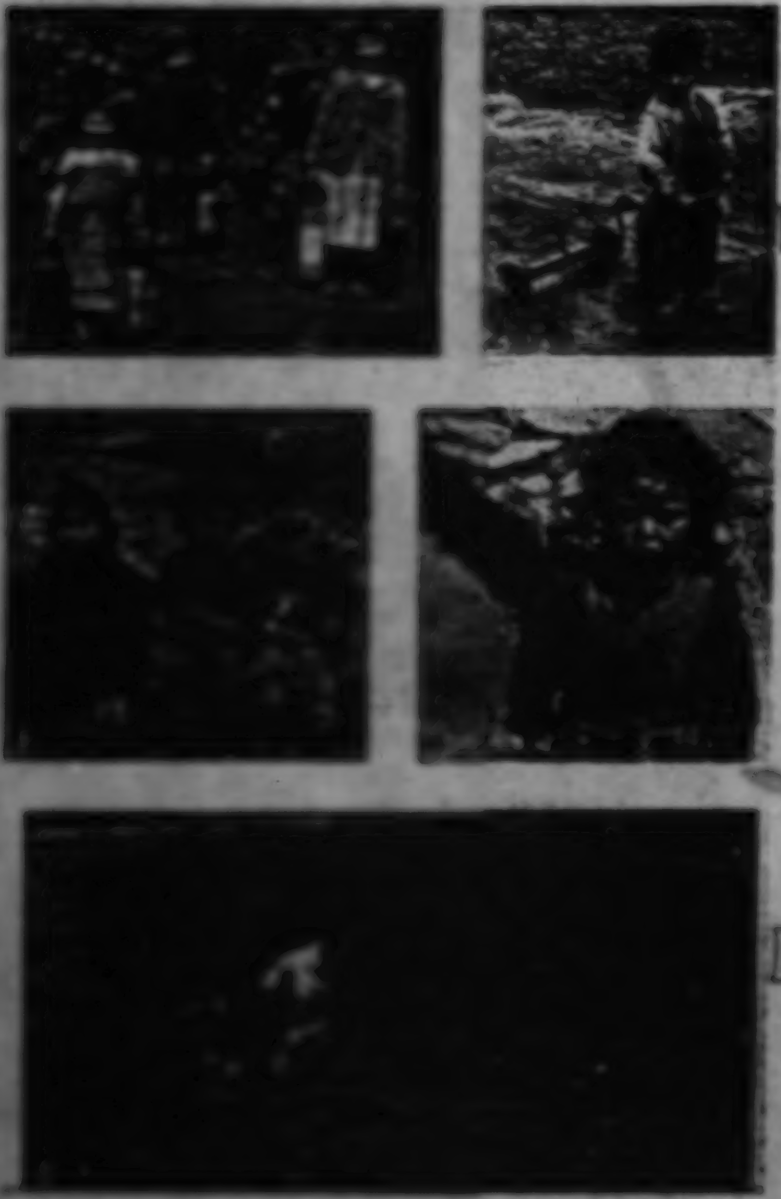

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SO4 Araucanians SO4

Argentina

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A dwelling, children, and view of [illegible] area. [illegible]

[p. 268(2)]

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BG4 Araucaniana BG4
Argentina

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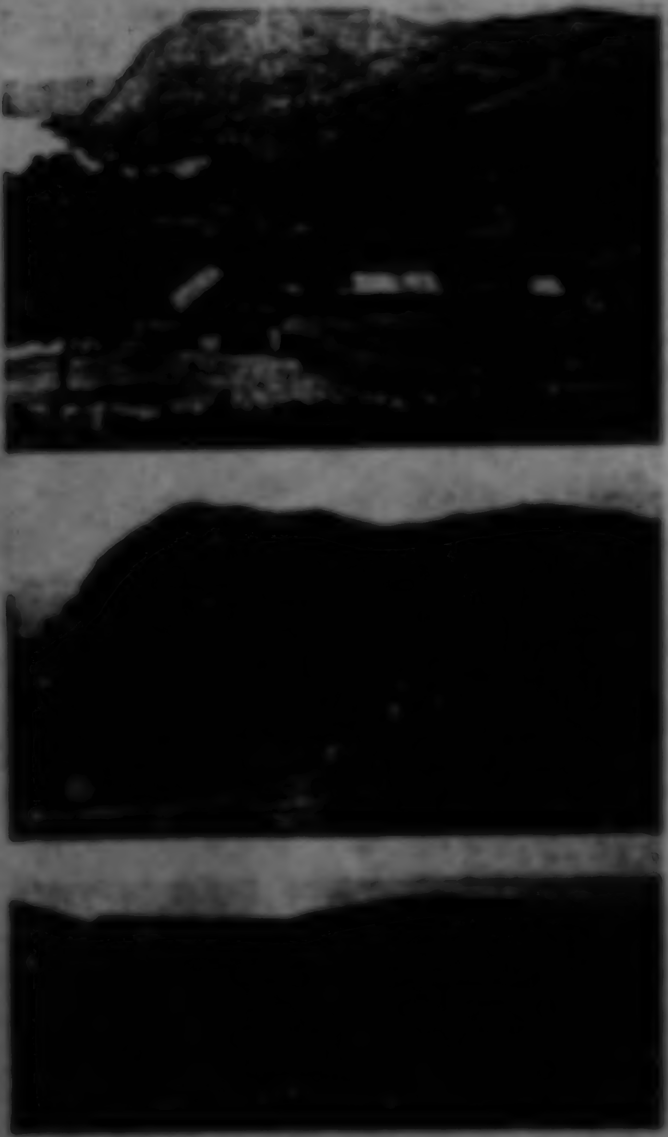
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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two women, and they might have lived." 845

NAVEL CORD

The attending woman ties off the umbilical cord with a thread and severs the cord beyond this. The navel is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the ones I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of storing the cord in a beaded bag (Hilger, 1952, pp. [illegible]) and remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the wall. 844 [171]

PLACENTA, CAUL

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was given a decoction of finely powdered bone of [illegible] boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the wall within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded in a stream. [illegible]

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

[illegible] FROM EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today [illegible] is used. 846

FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, MODIFYING THE FACE

The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the lambda region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in [illegible] in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was traditional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 6a.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an uncommon child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so flat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces [illegible] [illegible] [flat nosed];[4] the Argentines call them chatos."

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[4] All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

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THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

846 854

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1922]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it said often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A Spanish-speaking Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion. "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it."

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

302 301 [illegible]

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 10 years.

Ordinarily the piercer was not a specialized person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from any direction with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of [illegible] (Span. [illegible])." [illegible]

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implement of silver around." The implement was not sterilized. To keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited caciques, three or four of them. "It was like a feast." A generous meal of meat and muday (fermented drink of unsalted cereals) was served, and competitive games, such as palin and awar kuden or [illegible] (cf. pp. 98-103), were played. A dance, known as purrutun (cf. p. 120), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the namesake of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as katawe was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the needlelike silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the katawe on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a katawe performed on themselves. An adult man might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today." It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of these adults to participate in any pain that the child may have to endure. Following the katawe the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"TALCUM POWDER," PACIFIER, BABY'S FIRST CLOTHING

[illegible]
To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of leaves of [illegible] or [illegible] was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the woman squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of pumas or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.

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854 291 Diapers consisted either of a piece of homewoven cloth or of untanned skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, 6) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homewoven cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homewoven clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwisted yarn; twisted yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in skirtlike fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and rinsed.

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wraparound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

863 By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I slapped their bare buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they soon learned to tell it then."

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

854 Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent colihue peeled of bark, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of colihue bark, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the bend of the U was the head end.

The second type, used consistently today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of peeled split colihue stalks. The stalks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied near the ends to two sturdy colihue stalks (pl. 72, 2, 3). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of tendon [283] found along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kalapan noted. He apologized for using twine in tying the

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851 miniature sample shown in plate 74; he had looked for a dead horse while making the cradle, hoping to use its tendon for tying, but found none. Pictures of cradleboards used by Chilean Araucanians (cf. pls. 2, 3) interested informants; however, not even the oldest informants had seen any like them.

Cradles were sometimes painted red, green, or white with the same soil used in painting pottery or the inside of toldos. "Green was the prettiest color, but it was difficult to get; we had to get it from a faraway place."

The child was swaddled, as previously described, when about to be tied to its cradleboard. It was then laid on the backrest of the cradle and held in position by lashings of hide or homewoven bands. If the baby was to be transported, lashings were passed crisscross over its body and through loops in foal hide that had been securely fastened on the sides of the cradle. The loops were about a hand stretch apart. If the baby was merely to be set up in its cradle to be with its family, lashings were fastened rather loosely, often only at corners diagonally across from each other.

A child was transported on horseback in its cradle by its mother. If the mother had no other things to transport, she usually laid the cradle in front of her, especially if the child was still very small; if she had other things to transport, she placed these in front of her and fastened the cradle securely to her back from right shoulder toward left hip, letting the lower end of the side rest on the horse's back. In this position the foot ends of the cradle did not poke the horse, nor was the child jolted by having the foot ends touch the horse's back or the saddle, as the horse galloped along. Fastening was done by means of a homewoven band. Women preferred the cradle with the solid colihue backrest for transporting the baby, since the baby could be fastened more tightly to it than to the backrest of netting.

A mother wishing to tie the cradle to her back, stooped, let someone place the cradle on her back, and then fastened it to herself with the band that had been previously tied to the back of the cradle and to its foot ends. The section of the band attached to the right side of the cradle she brought across her left shoulder, across her chest, and under her right arm, holding it there, while she brought the other section of the band over the right shoulder, across the chest, and under the left arm. Then she crossed the two at the back, at the waistline, and brought them to the front where she tied them in a secure knot at her waistline. "A woman with her baby thus fastened to her back could gallop so fast that she hardly knew where her head stood, but the baby was always in its place."

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A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. 854
One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child.

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-
board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An 857
older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle.

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a colihue stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both worded and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies 854
to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just
because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother 533
will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai malón. Kaipai malón. Kaipai malón. Umaw tane." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another

854 533 said her mother sang a repetition of "ah" to several melodies. She herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guindados por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 [856] Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the ruka. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

863 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

In teaching a child to walk, many mothers still follow the traditional custom of making a pathway just wide enough for the child to walk in between two rows of colihue sticks. The sticks are crotched at the top and are planted a foot apart. In the crotches of each row, colihue poles are placed horizontally and fastened. The child is taught to hold onto the horizontal poles and coaxed to move forward by its mother who is at the other end of the pathway. She will be saying, "Come! Come! Come!" A listener-in remarked, "After a child has once learned to walk by this method, it can be coaxed to walk to other places by telling it to come to get something." A young mother had recently taught her child to walk by having it hold onto a low bench, and then to take steps to keep up with the bench as she moved it forward. If a child a year old makes no attempt to walk, the mother will switch its calves lightly with nettles. The child will then take steps to get away from the sting of the nettles. 868

A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to let it move around to play. "I often tied my children to a tree at that age, especially when I was weaving." A child's first creeping or walking is not celebrated as an event; informants were amused at the thought.

Nothing was done to bring about early speech development. "If the time has not yet come for the child to talk, it will not talk; when it is old enough to do so, it will talk." At about 10 months the mother began to teach it words, usually nouns, such as "father" and "mother." "It is done like this—at least I did it this way," said a 65-year-old woman. "I took a piece of bread and let the child hold it while I said, 'Bread,' and then I took it away from the child. The child would laugh. Then I would show the child the piece of bread again, and say, 'Bread. Bread. Bread.' I repeated this on different days, and soon the child said, 'Bread.'" Another mother, also in her sixties, had not used the above method but had shown a child bread or maybe a cup, and said, "Get me that bread," or "Get me that cup." Other mothers had merely talked to the child, and "the child learned to speak Araucanian as it learns to speak Argentine today." Today a child 2 years old speaks Araucanian if it is reared in a home where that language is spoken. "Formerly, everyone had to learn Araucanian; our parents would not allow us to speak Argentine; we had to speak Araucanian." [191]

NURSING, WEANING

Mothers nursed their children unless an unusual situation arose, for it was believed that mother's milk aided the child in developing a 853

853 strong constitution. An instance was related in which one of twin girls refused to nurse from its mother, and so the mother's sister, who was nursing a child at the time, nursed it for a month; after this the baby was taken back to its home and fed cow's milk, "but it never seemed to fit into its home and so later the grandmother took it to her home and reared it." A nursing mother was given no herbal decoction to increase the milk flow, but she ate much nourishing food, such as chicken and mutton. She avoided beef, since that was thought to make her sick.

A child was nursed whenever it became restless, whimpered, or indicated that it was hungry. During one 2-hour interview, a 1½-year-old child nursed about every 10 minutes. It did so standing at the side of its mother (my informant) who was seated on the ground, resting in its mother's arms, or squatting in her lap. Successive nursings were from different breasts. In general, a child was probably not nursed after it was two years old. "Nursing a baby longer than two years makes it mean," said a 60-year-old woman.

One informant, now 60 years old, made certain, when she had a nursing child, that there was no snake in the place. "We believe that 853 if there is a snake around it will come at night to where a mother will be nursing her child. Should the mother inadvertently fall asleep, the snake will push the baby from the breast, put its tail into the baby's mouth, and itself suck the milk from the mother."

When the child is capable of holding something, usually when 3 or 4 months old, it is given a piece of meat—raw, cooked, broiled, or roasted—from which to suck the essence. If adults were having apol (sheep lung filled with chili, salt, and coagulated blood; p. 363), the child was given a piece of it to suck. Today a 4-month-old child is given cow's milk thinned with water, and thin soups. I saw a young mother give her child of that age cow's milk in which she had cooked oatmeal bought at a store.

When a mother knew that the child could swallow foods thicker than soup, probably when 6 months old, she masticated meat for it. "This is still done today. I saw a mother recently chew araucaria nuts and give them to her child." The child's first solid food—a favorite—was cooked meat of rhea. It was also given mutton, lamb, and fowl, but never beef, which was thought to make the child sick. As soon as a child has its teeth, it is expected to eat all foods eaten by adults.

862 Children were generally weaned between the ages of one and two years. Some mothers weaned a child gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk; some did it abruptly. "I usually

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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and then ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 8?-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the
community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her
parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have
blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the
parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family
was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil;
quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the
[684] baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if
the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually
protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only
one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand;
one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth
from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the
proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the
[847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with
polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child,
and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less
755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it,
left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that
cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something
wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered
lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. 855
Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A 755
baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 303-304) was performed over a critically sick child.

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the [illegible] (p. 270) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 308).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody 732
can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who 143
were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand."

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a 597
child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house.

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken 727
as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and 597
claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an

727 597 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the following: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people. A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. There I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me come to his home in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 12 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnaped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interpreter noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martín de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and liked it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 27), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (pichi wentru); a girl, "little woman" (pichi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer. "That boy was given the name of Sebastiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of his parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Traipe; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

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last." Usually, however, the child was given the name of a relative, often of a departed grandparent, aunt, or uncle. A son was not infrequently given his deceased father's name. 553

Either the father announced the child's name or, if he did not, one of the grandmothers did so. "But what really attached the name to the child was the presence of the people who had been invited and who were celebrating the event thereby." Always an abundant meal was served to all present. No prayers were said, and there was probably no ceremony connected specifically with the bestowal of the name. The latter, it seems, was more closely associated with the piercing of the ears (cf. p. [illegible]).

The origin of *Araucanian* names was not known to informants. "We gave our children the names that already existed; from where these came no one living today knows," said the oldest woman informant. "I called my oldest son [illegible]; that was the name of my deceased grandfather. But how the name originated, or why my grandfather was so called, I do not know." 557

Feminine names differed from masculine ones—"just as they do in Spanish"—for the simple reason that they had always been given to women. "No one would think of giving my mother's mother's name, Paine, to a boy, any more than you would think of giving the name Elizabeth to one of your boys."

Some names lent themselves to translation; others did not. Paine had no meaning. [illegible] and [illegible], exclusively feminine names, meant, respectively, "tender person" or "tender people," and a kind of herb. Exclusively masculine names were [illegible] (given stone formerly used for magic purposes), [illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] (blue snake), [illegible] (ostrich foot), and [illegible] (point of a stone, like the spearhead of a lance).

The given name of a woman was generally not used when speaking of her. She was spoken of as "my mother," "my mother's mother," etc. In some instances, therefore, close relatives did not know a woman's name. A [illegible]-year-old informant did not know the Araucanian name of her mother, who was [illegible] years old.

SURNAMES, NICKNAMES

Until recent years there were no surnames. "Formerly no one had two names; no one had a family name like they make us use today." Today every child has a surname, and so do all adults, except very old ones. Surnames originated in several ways. The first surnames were probably those given men when they were conscripted into the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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553 Argentine army. "Every one was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Cívica (cf. p. [illegible]), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Paunch of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

593 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

595 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

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wives took turns doing them. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one toldo, but very agreeably so." 595

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 593 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty basket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

[593] of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and provided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother-sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

595 Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. [illegible] for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

151 Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

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COURTESY, HELPFULNESS

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that no one enter a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at intoxicated ones. I will not allow my children to do that." 576 [867]

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke in quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a flour sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She next stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grassless plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grassless plot from a brook at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba mate (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba mate, so we gave no offense by not taking it. [867]

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Araucanians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

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863 a fence. "Do not hang your coat there on that fence; birds come there, and they may dirty it." After viewing the assistant admiringly for a little while, she ran to the garden and picked a bouquet of flowers for her; later in the day she presented her with two additional bouquets. When the wind disturbed the pages of the assistant's notebook, the little girl held them down. When chickens, dogs, or cats came near, she chased them away. With each of, used she removed burrs from the assistant's clothes.

During another interview, school-age boys scampered off in search of medicinal plants that their grandmother was talking about, or they brought samples of them from stored supplies. In quite some cases they reminded the grandmother of information regarding their uses that she had forgotten to tell. When basketry was being discussed, they brought baskets to be looked at. During a demonstration of spinning and weaving by a woman, her children added details of explanations she forgot to tell.

Other instances of courtesies and helpfulness on the part of children were observed. Children always halted an instance to say "con su permiso" (with your permission) when about to pass in front of anyone. When we admired the flowering notro, which could be seen in bright red patches in many places on mountainsides, a 10-year-old boy ran out of the house and up the mountainside to fetch some. He returned with large branches, placed about his smiling face like a picture frame. When his mother set out to collapse her loom so that it could be moved into the open to be photographed, he immediately helped her do so and assisted in setting it up again. This done, he warmed milk for a sick kitten. In doing so, he inadvertently pushed over a bowl of sugar. Quietly he called his mother's attention to this, obviously regretting the accident. The mother remarked, "It is all right," and the boy set out to spoonfeed the kitten (pl. 6, c).

BOASTING, JEALOUSY

865 Parents taught children not to be boastful or jealous. "It is best to teach children to be simple. There is really nothing for people to boast about. A child that boasts is remarked about or made aware of his boasting. Older persons may say, 'Where does this boaster come from? He does not belong to us.'" A woman in her sixties listened to a boasting child and then asked, "Do you really think that is true?" And then laughed. "The child knows then that I do not believe what it said." A woman a generation older listened to a boasting child but paid no further attention to it. "Children talk that way. One will

came and say that he saw a bird larger than a condor. But I know the birds around here are no larger than a condor. And so I say nothing. Then he stops boasting to me. Should a child come to me, however, and lie about something important, I will whip such a child with a rope." 865

A jealous child is told, "What you are, you are," or "What you have is yours, and you must be satisfied with it; what others have is theirs and theirs has nothing to do with you."

QUARRELING, TALE-BEARING, OBEDIENCE

Children were instructed not to quarrel. In fact, parents did not allow them to. If they persisted in doing so, they were punished, usually whipped. "When my father instructed us in other things, he also told us not to quarrel."

Quarrels between children in a neighborhood sometimes caused quarrels between their respective parents; just as often no one paid any attention to them. "It is merely children's conduct," parents will say and let it go at that. A quarrel resulted when a child, sibling or neighbor, took something that belonged to another child and did not return it. Sensible parents, it was said, insisted that the thing be returned, and the quarrel thus ended.

Tale bearers were listened to, "since it might be something important that the child was telling." If it was important, the one told on was corrected, sometimes punished; if not, the tale-bearing one was sent away, or the listener walked away from him.

Obedience was demanded by parents of all children, formerly even of adult offspring. A disobedient child was admonished and then punished. "That was formerly; it is not that way today. Formerly, men obeyed when they were 30; today some do not obey when they are only 15," said an 80-year-old woman. She added in a serious mood, "I have seen men 30 years old whipped by their fathers, in former years, because they had disobeyed." 866

Punishments were usually suited to the gravity of the disobedience. An 85-year-old man, when 10 years old, was whipped with a rope by his father for not bringing home the oxen his father needed; he had played instead. "That was the one time that I got a whipping with a rope," he mused. A woman older than 100 years was whipped with a stick when she was about 7 years old because she continued to play and would not answer her mother's call. An eyewitness related that a woman about to give birth sent her 14-year-old son (the only one home) to fetch his aunt. The boy did not return, neither did the

861 were active, and the woman delivered her baby that night alone. When her husband came home he explained to the boy in no uncertain terms what his duties had been. When the boy would not give his father the reason for not getting his aunt, the father tied a lasso about the boy's neck, threw the end of it over a rafter, and raised and lowered the boy for about a half hour. He finally let the boy down and removed the lasso. The boy fainted. "But his father shook him, and he came to. No, no, the boy did not die; Araucanians do not die so easily. The father made the boy kneel down and beg his pardon and promise never to do anything like that again."

An 8- or 9-year-old child that persisted in disobeying after having been admonished and whipped was thought to have bad blood. Its mother performed the [illegible] on it to remove the bad blood, that is, she pierced a vein at the child's wrist—"maybe with a piece of glass that is as sharp as a needle"—and let flow a small amount of blood.

During an interview an 80-year-old grandmother ordered her 8-year-old granddaughter, who was sitting by idly, listening in, to get her knitting. "That girl has been knitting on that pullover for more than a year," the grandmother noted. Her 10-year-old grandson she ordered to chase back turkeys that were wandering away, and after that to take the sheep to pasture. She complained about the lack of obedience of her 19-year-old grandson. She was displeased with the manner in which he was taking a sheep to the village to be sold—he was transporting it on horseback. "Do not put the sheep in back of you; put it in front of you, so it will have some shade," she called to him. "Why must you leave at this time of day [2 p.m.]? It is too hot to be leaving now." But the young man rode off. Later when she could see him again as he was riding down the mountainside, she remarked: "Why is he wearing his poncho? It is neither cold nor raining! I scold this boy much. He is only 19 and often hesitates to obey. When I scold him he says he is leaving home; but he always comes back and is very amiable when he does come back."

LYING, STEALING, INTOXICATION

867 Formerly, children rarely lied; they were admonished not to, and punishment was sometimes dealt out to liars. "A child that lied and did not correct its lies was called early by the father on the following day and was told, 'Yesterday you lied to me. I do not want you to do that again. I want you to remember that you are not to do that again.' That is what my father told his children, and that is how I

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deal with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something most certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a horse, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHUMS, MODESTY, PUBERTY RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

834 574 513 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night, their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—"we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ŋishem or ñishem, cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

A girl at first menses, but not at any subsequent one, was isolated for several days in the toldo, usually in a corner behind some hangings. The mother prepared the girl for the event, but only in rare instances explained its purpose. Following isolation, invited relatives partook of a plentiful meal at which the girl was present. Quoting a woman in her sixties: "My mother took me aside one day and said, 'Now you are of an age when you will get a certain sickness.' I was about 13 or 14 years old then. She did not tell me what the sickness was, and since I did not know what it was, I could not speak to her about it. One day, later than that, she said to me, 'You look pale and sad and are upset. Bring me the white blanket.' She laid it on the floor in a corner, away from the fireplace, and then hung a hide on a rope that was stretched cornerwise [about 5 feet high] to make that corner a private place. Since the hide did not shut off the entire corner, she sent me to get a blanket which she slung over the remainder of the rope. The corner was now completely shut off. She told me to sleep on the white blanket that night. I did so. The next morning she examined the blanket and found it soiled. She said, 'Now you are grown up. Do not be ashamed of it. It is something every girl gets, and every woman has. When you are much older, it will go away again. While you have it you must be careful not to wash your hair or feet; if you do, it will make you sick. However, you can comb your hair, but do not touch your hair when doing so; it may fall out if you do. You must stay here in the corner so no one will disturb you.' My mother came behind the hangings and sat with me and talked, but no one else did so. Nothing would have happened if someone else had, but only a mother does so—that is our custom. While the girl was in the corner, the others in the family went about their work as usual; they were all glad that all was well with the girl. The girl was given only light foods to eat. I was given a little fried meat—we usually ate meat raw—cooked cereal, and catute well mixed with water. I did no work. I merely waited. I sat on the white blanket or lay on it for four days. When my mother noticed I was well, I went to bathe. The danger in washing my head and feet was now passed. I wore my silver ornaments, for relatives that had been invited to a feast were arriving. Such a girl is congratulated. Everyone knows that she has stood it well. After the feast the girl goes about her work again."

Quoting another woman in her sixties: "I spun while I was back of the hangings. When it was over with, my parents gave a meal to which acquaintances were invited, at which they drank chicha and [illegible]

881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

515 [824] The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow stripes of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

864
Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being hanged. 684

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun- 576

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576 tains is treacherous and may make you sick." Another complimented my assistant on the pronunciation of Araucanian words: "You would make a good Araucanian señorita; your accent is nearly perfect." Always persons covered the mouth when coughing and turned from everyone when using a handkerchief.

In general, adults assisted me in every way, especially in demonstrating activities or showing objects that we were learning about. Specimen plants were collected; spinning and weaving were demonstrated; sample pieces of pottery were made. Adults, and children too, walked long distances to show us the way to informants; they carried our baggage and relayed messages for us. Kolupan, however, hesitated to make a sample cradle. His eyes were poor, he said, and it would take too much effort to collect colihüe stalks that he would need in making the cradle; in any event, it would take time to make one. When we promised him pay, he remarked, "Money is not important." He thought a little while, looked at the field assistant, and said, "I shall make one for you, Señorita Margarita." Several days later he returned with the cradle (pl. 74, *1*, *2*) and explained how he had made it. This done, he handed the cradle to my assistant, and said: "This is for you, señorita. Tie your first baby boy to it and call him Kolupan."

574 Hospitality has always been a virtue of the Araucanians and is so today. Handshaking upon meeting is an old custom, and not one adopted from Argentines, old informants insisted. Whenever we arrived in a house, everyone stepped forward to shake hands and to express a greeting. A child too young to do so unassisted was helped by someone older. On one occasion all was set for an interview with a man in his eighties. We asked a question, but instead of answering it, he made his way around chairs and a table to shake hands with my assistant, which he had forgotten to do. Having done this he said, "Now let us begin to talk."

Benches, chairs, or boxes were covered with pelts or small throws, often by a child, before they were offered for sitting. Upon our arrival at the home of a cacique (pl. 77, *1*), he walked briskly toward us, shook hands warmly and wholeheartedly with everyone who had arrived, and invited us to the family sun shelter where his wife and children had quickly prepared benches for us.

An expression of genuine hospitality today is to treat visitors to yerba maté soon after their arrival. "When we see anyone coming up these mountains, we stir up the fire and get water to boil for yerba maté." A child is usually assigned these tasks. A cup of yerba maté with a bombilla is then passed around, each person taking a draught and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls 574 may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught.

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

181 157 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do. And now I should show you how we danced?" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 732 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feeblemindedness was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [278] [727] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

762 [intestines] on the right side of his body," and more often, in recent years, uses a revolver. The chief reason for suicide is "feeling sad about a thing." In two instances insanity was given as the cause. An informant in his eighties told of a suicide that had just happened: "When I arrived home last evening, a young man, only 25 years old, had cut his throat. He was still lying near my yard [the Argentine law forbids the removal of such a body until the police have given permission to do so]. The people are saying that this man committed suicide because he had a heavy and sad heart—his mother, who was a widow, died in disgrace recently. Although she had sons and daughters with whom she might have lived, she gave herself up to other men. If one of the man's [suicide's] sisters had been sad, she would have hung herself; one of my women relatives did that. This relative of mine loved someone, but her parents would not allow her to marry him and this saddened her. She fastened one end of a rope about her neck and tied the other to a branch of a tree that hung over a cliff—any projection would have done. She let go of the rope, and there she hung in midair."

While I was in the area a young woman hung herself because her father refused to let her work in San Martín de los Andes. The following morning, a schoolboy, while looking for a horse on which to ride to school, found her hanging from a tree.

An 80-year-old informant told of a suicide committed by a woman who was intermittently insane. "The woman went to her daughter-in-law's house to see why the daughter-in-law's small child was crying. She found the daughter-in-law hanging from the rafters by a rope and the child hanging onto its mother's feet. The mother-in-law could not look at the woman; she grabbed the child and ran out of the house."

LYING, THEFT, INTOXICATION

577 Persons seldom lied. Liars were not respected. "It is the same today," said a man in his eighties. Old informants remarked that young men tell lies at home about food, "the way in which they got the food that they bring home from estancias, especially animals. We eat the food, but no one compliments the young man for having provided it." A non-Araucanian, who was born and reared among the Araucanians and who employed a large number of them on his estancia, noted, "An Araucanian cannot lie and get away with it. You can see it in his face and in his actions the minute he tells a lie."

674 Stealing today is usually done from Argentines; seldom is anything stolen from an Araucanian. Things stolen are usually sheep.

In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those in another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kallfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the home of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the ngillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

868 Practical work was learned by a child younger than 7 by observation and by participation. A lack of interest or willingness to help was reproved. At about 7 years of age, the child was given certain responsibilities. "Go into the house and tend to your olla, so the soup will not boil over." "I always helped to tend our sheep when I was a little girl." "I began to spin yarn when I was 9 years old." "A boy when 7 or 8 years old is sent to find a horse or a cow that has strayed away, or for hens that are no longer with the others." "Each one of my children has a garden plot. I show them how to plant vegetables, and I teach them to water their garden and to weed it. When I take fresh vegetables to market, I let them take the ones they have grown; with the money they receive for theirs, I let them buy clothes."

At 14 or 15 years of age a boy began to assume the responsibilities of adult work, such as raising cattle, shearing sheep, plowing and planting fields, and harvesting. Fathers were the teachers in this; but "my mother encouraged my brothers to be good workers, to be amiable when working with others, and to be attentive to the work that they were doing." A girl did a woman's work, such as weaving and cooking, at 11 or 12.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

861 It was not customary to reward a child for work well done. However, an occasional parent, especially a mother, did so, usually with something the child stood in need of, more particularly clothing. More often as an incentive the desire of the child to do what was expected of it was aroused. Mothers would say, "When shearing time comes, I know you will be a good help"; or "This is for you; I know you will always be a good child." One informant had interested her teenage daughter in learning Arabic words from a woman whose laundry she was doing. To learn English she had the daughter ask the field assistant's help. The interpreter was asked by the daughter for lessons in German words. When an old woman was shown photographs of Navajo and Blackfeet, she called her grandchildren and explained, "These are Mapuche [indigenous people] from North America."

Compulsions consisted in dealing with a child in a serious manner, that is by talking to it, scolding it, or if necessary, switching it. Often during interviews small children were corrected in earnest words, but not with harsh or hurting ones. The usual expression was, "Look here! Sit down, and be quiet."

A woman in her sixties had not switched any of her children; she had talked to them, giving them good advice, and had scolded them.

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A 40-year-old man believed that incorrigible children came from poorly adjusted families. "If a man from a good family marries a woman from a good family, they will bring up good children. Formerly, it was easy to rear children, so the old people say; and I found it so. I never whipped a child; I talked to each one. It is not easy today to rear children." 861

Spanking a child before it was old enough to comprehend the reason for it was thought to be senseless and even harmful, for it might frighten the child and upset its mental poise. An informant believed that the reason a child that was playing nearby during an interview showed fear of a dog and chickens, and was frightened by a noise—an unusual thing for an Araucanian child—was that it had been whipped without knowing the reason for it. "Such a child gets nervous, and can no longer be managed with words."

Children old enough to comprehend were punished for lying, for answering back, and for persistent disobedience. "My mother hit me over the head once because I refused to learn to weave," said a woman in her sixties; "I preferred to ride a horse and tend the sheep and lasso calves. When I wove, I had to sit and sit and sit. But now that I am old, I am glad I know how to weave; I find weaving a profitable pastime."

Switching was done with a switch (wishka) made either of braided reeds of junquillo or braided thongs of young horse hide, usually about 16 inches long. It was kept at the junction of the rafters and the wall, or the mother kept it tied to her belt. Switching was done on calves and ankles, or on thighs and buttocks, while the child was held between the knees of the one administering the switching. "I was switched by my mother once," said an old woman and laughed at the memory of it. She passed up the question why she was switched, probably because her 13-year-old granddaughter was listening. "Sometimes sons at 30 were switched," she continued; "but in general sons at that age were obedient; nor did they answer back."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

There are 10 state rural schools in the Araucanian country today, intended for Araucanian children; only one area is without a school. When teachers are available, Araucanian children attend well. Most persons older than 20 had attended school only a very short time, if at all. "The teacher liked me and asked me one day why I was not attending school," a 56-year-old man noted, "so I decided to try it. I attended five days, and I learned something each day." "My son 871

871 there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 186 Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

197 Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wünke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, sipiol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is ʃaʃwe in Chile; koafue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

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manʃana from manzana (apple); lantera from bandera (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: lacar (lake, Lacar), neuquén (territory, Neuquén), and pángumia; also chiripa, chilipa, and chilipas, all three meaning pants. La pampa is Guaraní. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guaraní influence, the Guaraní language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guaraní from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade. 177

A 59-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the lofche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrikura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only boleadoras and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except one White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrikura. Katrikura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrikura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and 648 368

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Días!' 'You, next one, say Buenas tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenas noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

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Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as ñuke; his brother and sister each as pille; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as *fot'em*, and his daughter as ñawe; a woman speaks of both as püñeñ.

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The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Salas, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

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had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their 212 origin. None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not 172 write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Saiko, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Bruch, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La 172 Primavera and Estancia Mamuil Malal and in Vega Valle, Collón Có, Quilaquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junín de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Saiko chalked several (pl. 69, *2*).

Pictographs seen by Saiko in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quilaquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Melaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primivera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Saiko observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an elo- 537 quent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper 202 tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

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537 [202] man in training was sent as messenger by his cacique, or another person, to another cacique. When he was older, he was one of those who delivered addresses and made announcements to the assembled people. Kolopan was trained in oratory by his father. He said of himself: "I was an intelligent young man, full of life and full of energy. My father recognized my intelligence and taught me how to speak. He would give me an order to go somewhere, maybe to a cacique, and then tell me exactly what I was to say. I had to repeat to him what he had said and in the same tone of voice in which he had said it. In this way I learned not only how to carry messages to men of importance, like caciques, and how to deliver an address, but also how to speak good Araucanian.—I cannot pronounce words well today, because I have lost my front teeth.—Caciques to whom I was sent always received me with much courtesy. This gave me a feeling of distinction. I was about 22 years old when I first began to carry messages between caciques. I had great respect for my father. He was a most intelligent man."

COUNTING

802 There is no zero. Numerals in Argentine Araucanian are given in table 7. (See table 1 for Chilean Araucanian numerals.)

TABLE 7.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Argentina)*

1 kiñe	10 mari	50 kechu-mari
2 epu	11 mari-kiñe	60 kayu-mari
3 küla (or kla)	12 mari-epu	70 reqle-mari
4 meli	13 mari-küla (or mari-kla)	80 pura-mari
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	90 aille-mari
6 kayü	21 epu-mari-kiñe	100 pataka
7 reqle	22 epu-mari-epu	200 epu-pataka
8 pura	30 kla-mari	300 kla-pataka
9 aille	40 meli-mari	1,000 waranka

Children count on their fingers; if the number is greater than 10, they count on toes also. Adults were seen counting by touching the fingernails of one hand for counting to 5, then touching the second knuckles of the same hand for counting to 10, and the fingernails and knuckles of the other hand for numbers greater than 10. Counting was generally done from thumb to little finger. "If I were young and agile and barefoot," said a 50-year-old man, "I would use my toes to count from 10 to 20"—something other adults said was seldom done except by children.

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MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

Time of day today is generally told as formerly: On sunny days, in the open, it is reckoned quite accurately by the position of the sun; not so accurately by the length of shadows cast by stationary objects, such as houses or trees. "If shadows are short, it must be nearly midday." Indoors, time is told by the location of sunrays as they shine through crevices and fall upon designated fixed places, such as a stone at the fireplace or the foot of a sapling in the framework of the house. Allowance was made for the shifting of the sunbeams as the seasons progressed, "but the sunrays are always either on the rock or to the right or the left of it." A 55-year-old woman knew where sunbeams could be expected to be when the time of day was halfway between sunrise and noon, at noon, and halfway between noon and sunset. 805

Kolupan noted that the only time of day that can be accurately told is midday, since the sun is then at zenith. He then said that an Austrian Tyrolese had taught him to tell time by noticing the location of the shadow of his long finger in the palm of his hand when he folded the finger across the palm. "If the shadow of my finger falls directly below the finger, it is midday; if the end of the shadow falls on this crease in my palm, it is between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening. This is not an old Araucanian custom."

When there is no sun, time is merely guessed at. A 70-year-old woman hurried her four grandsons off to school, during an interview on a rainy day, when she learned it was 11 a.m.; they had been sitting by, listening in. "When the sun does not shine, we do not know the time of day," commented the grandmother. "On such days our children are sometimes late for school and sometimes too early." Time for meals was told by hunger.

Kolupan and a man in his seventies named the parts of the day, but they agreed on one word only, namely, that for midday: both called it ragi antü. Kolupan divided the day as shown in table 8. The man in his seventies divided the day into ule (morning), ragi antü (midday), rupa antü (sun is passing), and epe leu antü (evening). Both agreed that the time of night (ñüpun) is told by the position of two constellations, the guanaco (l'uan) and the rhea (choike). (See table 9 for Chilean Araucanian names of divisions of the day.) 805 184

Days were not named; nor were they grouped into weeks. If count had to be kept of days, a knot was tied into a thong or string "each day when we got up in the morning." A period of several weeks' time was reckoned by the moon. A worker, for example, who hired out at harvest time took notice of the shape of the moon on the day 805 [211]

825 on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a küyen (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to [illegible]." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember [illegible] on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 8.—*Divisions of the day, according to Kolupan (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Araucanian name
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	[illegible] antü
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and sunrise)	[illegible]
"The morning"	[illegible]
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	[illegible]
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	[illegible] antü
"A little after midday, between 1 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	[illegible] antü
"The sun is departing, that is about 5 o'clock on the clock"	[illegible] antü
"The sun is disappearing"	[illegible] antü
"The sun has disappeared"	[illegible] antü
"The light that lingers after sunset"	[illegible]
"It is getting dark"	[illegible]

asked their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Cívica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "Here is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Cívica (Libreta Enrolamiento, to men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, make guesses and record them. [illegible]

Seasons were designated as [illegible] (or, according to Kolupan, [illegible], "the trees begin to bud"); [illegible] (much sun, "the time the fruit ripens here"); [illegible] (or, according to Kolupan, [illegible], "fruit has ripened"); pukem (rain and snow).

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

821 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the

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Andes, and also in high or low valleys; in either there are differentiating factors. Kolupan, for example, knew the weather forecasts for December for the specific area of San Martín de los Andes, in which he lived: a windy day followed by showers at night brought a clear day; during any clear night frost could be expected; on nights when the [illegible] "like the morning sun" is barefoot on a moving twig," and all the stars are bright, frost is certain to come. Formerly, rain followed by a thunderstorm could be expected when the people heard the crying of [illegible] (cf. pp. [illegible]). "Those were the days when we still heard [illegible]." A [illegible]-year-old informant had been told by her grandfather, when she was still a child, that from the mountainside on which he lived he could see a tree in Lake Lacar. He knew that if the tree stood erect, fair weather would prevail; if it swayed, windy weather or snow was in the offing. [83]

In general, however, a very red sunset forecasts hot weather; black clouds, rain; white clouds, snow and cold. A rainbow in line with the Cordillera—that is, in the west—forecasts bad weather; opposite the Cordillera, good weather.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

A rainbow, as stated above, forecasts weather, depending on its position. An eclipse of the moon or the sun predicts war, hunger, and want, usually in a distant country. Kolupan observed that the last three wars had each been predicted by an eclipse of the sun. "The Germans made war after the first and second eclipse," he stated, "and the Russians, after the third one—that is, the war that is now [1952] going on in Asia."

No information was obtained regarding the sun (except in eclipse) other than that it is man's friend. "All animals, too, like the sun; even the snake does so. A snake, if killed, will not die until sundown; [83] it will take a last look at the sun, just as it sets, and die."

Both morning and evening stars were called [illegible] by all informants except Kolupan. Kolupan insisted that the evening star was known by the same name as dusk ([illegible]), and the morning star by the same name as dawn ([illegible]). Others agreed, "It is the same star; it is like the sun; it comes and goes."

Constellations identified by informants and sketched are shown in figure 8. They are the pleiades ([illegible]); the cross ([illegible]); the bolas ([illegible]); stretched hide ([illegible] or [illegible]); and seven little goats, or hen and chicks ([illegible] or [illegible]). An elongated V was pointed out, but not identified. Kolupan could

821 not identify the Southern Cross by its name, but a diagram of it immediately brought a response: "That one? That one is called footprint of the rhea (pənon). The three upper stars are the toes; the lower one is the heel." Pointing at the sky where Orion could be

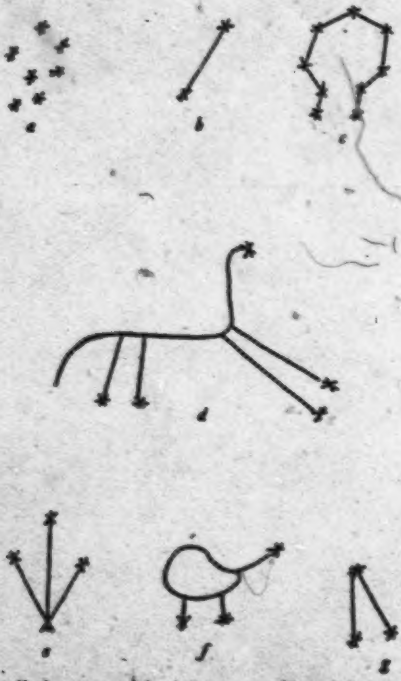

FIG. 8.—Constellations named by informants. Since informants, in describing the constellations, pointed to areas between zenith and 45° below zenith, it is possible that the names given in parentheses are the astronomical ones. *a*, Seven little goats (a section of Pavo). *b*, A 2-balled boleodora (a section of Crux). *c*, Stretched hide (sections of Carina and Volans). *d*, Guanaco (a section of Centaurus). *e*, The foot of the rhea (Reticulum). *f*, Rhea (Grus). *g*, A 3-balled boleodora (Apus).

seen that night (November), he remarked, "We call those three stars potatoes in a hole (pal); the Argentines call them las tres Marías. The Milky Way was called the river (l'enfü).

SIGNALING

202 According to a well-informed non-Araucanian, the Araucanians signaled by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and also by the

sounds of the trutruka. (Cf. pl. 70, *1*, *2*, for trutruka.) Smoke and fire signals were begun on one mountaintop, taken up by persons on a neighboring one and on all others where it had been seen, and so continued until the message was received by all. In areas where people lived in valleys, where mountaintops could not be readily seen, the trutruka was blown. Wherever its sound was heard, other trutruka were blown, until all areas had received the notice. "Araucanians say that when a stranger entered the pre-Cordillera, in those early days, the news of it, before long, reached the upper end of the Cordillera." Kolupan did not agree with the above. "Trutruka," he said, "were not used for signaling. And all I know about the use of fire is that the Tehuelche used it when hunting guanaco. When we wanted to send news from one place to another, we sent messengers on horseback to carry it. Such messengers we called welkin." 202

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, DISTANCE, QUANTITY

The shortest measurement was the pulgada—a measurement from tip to first knuckle of the thumb. An informant measured a bean used in playing a game in this manner. A hand stretch from tip of thumb to tip of first finger is called duke; from tip of thumb to tip of little finger, chaŋilkue. In using the hand-stretch measure, informants slid the thumb into the position of the finger, moving to the right if the right hand was used or to the left if the left hand was used. The length and width of the cradleboard and the belt used in tying a baby into its cradle were so measured. Lengths, widths, and heights were also indicated as the distance shown between hands. The length of a throw was measured by double arm stretches (nüfkü), unless it was measured over another throw. Distances on the ground were stepped off by long steps known as trekan. 804

Clothing was woven to fit the person for whom it was intended—"it has to fit that person." Either the measurements were taken from an article of clothing owned by the one for whom the new one was being woven, or they were taken directly on the person. A strand of yarn was used in measuring. An informant showed how she took measurements for a poncho: she put a strand of yarn across the interpreter's shoulders and brought both ends to the knee, one in front and the other in back. "How long do you want the poncho to be?" she asked. "Some men wear theirs longer than the knee; most men prefer theirs to just above the knee." She doubled this length and made a knot at that point. When ready to weave the poncho, she would cut the yarn into two equal lengths, fastening a length to each 804 294

804 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted. 294 For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was, 517 and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach 516 a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

521 Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martín de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

Formalized conversation, probably the koyaqtun, was carried on when a woman's relatives, including her immediate family, came to visit her for the first time after her marriage (cf. pp. 331-332). 521

Informants, now old, were told stories connected with wars—usually those between Araucanians and Argentines—when they were children. An informant, when a young girl, was told the following by her mother:

> An Araucanian girl had a child by an Argentine soldier, but another Argentine soldier wanted the girl. The girl tucked her child under her poncho and rode away with the one that was not the father of her child. After some time they were hungry, but they had nothing to eat. So the man stole a horse. They found a cave and lived in it. Here they cut large pieces of meat off the horse, but they broiled them in another cave, one close to a nearby lake. The cave was in such a position that people could not see the fire they made in it; they did not want to be discovered. The girl could have eaten the meat raw, but the man not—he was not an Araucanian. [539]

"My mother would cry when she would tell me such stories."

Certain legends were told to children, but children were usually listeners-in to those intended for adults. One legend told to children is the following:

> Inga—some say Inca—sent word, saying, "Children, your God is captured. He must die unless sufficient gold and silver are collected to fill three rooms; do all you can to collect both, and send them to me." All the Araucanians gave whatever they could, their finest things in gold and silver. They collected all these in one place. It took a long time to do so. Then they looked for slaves to carry the load over the mountains. They were finally on their way. But a great difficulty had soon to be faced: they found snow in the mountains. Just when this difficulty seemed insurmountable, they met Araucanians from other mountains. These said, "Do not go any farther; Inca has died. And do not sell or give your gold and silver to the Whites." So they dug a large hole on the top of one of the mountains, pushed the gold and silver into it, and then onto these they pushed all the slaves. Next they pushed a big mountain over it all. No one now knows where the place is. So runs the legend, as told by some. Others say that the slaves with their loads of gold and silver were pushed down a smooth ledge of stone on the side of the mountain where it can still be seen resembling a slide. It ends in Lake Carrhue Chico. At the place where the ledge enters the lake, the water is very deep and is dark in appearance. The gold and silver, wherever they are, so says the legend, worked their way toward the surface of the earth, a hair's breadth each year, until the Whites came into the area. Since then the gold and silver have sunk deeper, but in all probability, when the Whites leave here, they will again move upward. [539]

Kolupan told a legend with a historical background as related to him by his father when he, Kolupan, was a child. In recent years Kolupan has told it to children in his neighborhood:

> West of Hua Hum, there was formerly a lake in addition to Lake Pirehueico which is still there. About 300 years ago an earthquake split the earth wide [539]

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521 open near there. A machi went into the opening and cut down something. While she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it.
539 Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion [he imitated steam being blown off]. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lacar and Lake Pirehueico. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Since then these rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshuenco. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Shoshuenco so that today Shoshuenco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

517
276 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence; "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked ceremonially at the nillatun; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of maqui and dead wood of rauli, or a mixture of crushed leaves of both, was smoked. Tobacco was introduced with government rations. Kolupan, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with maqui, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of rauli to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only at bedtime since it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was called potrem; the word kinnickinnick was not known to informants; Kolupan found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out colihüe stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (pl. 76, 3). Those of caciques and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

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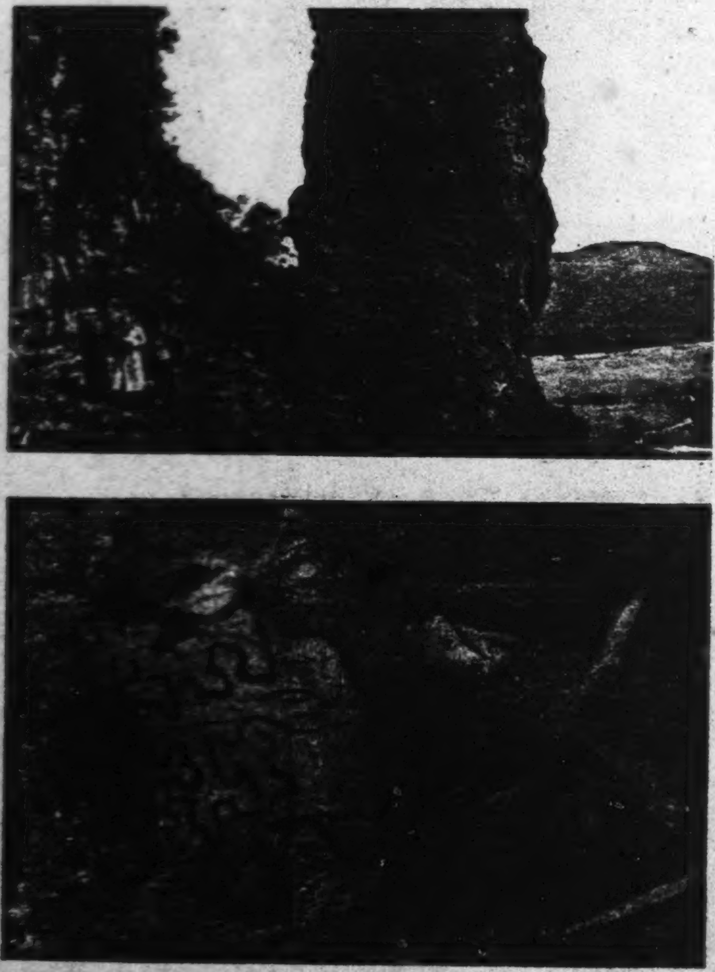

Pictographs in Vega Valle near San Martin de los Andes: 1, Locating pictographs under the guidance of Jaroslav ("Saiko") Swaryczewski (right) and Sergio Sinjovsni (center) of the offices of Parque Nacional de Lanin, San Martin de los Andes. Left, Margaret Mondloch, field assistant. 2, Pictographs found at the site.

[p. 316(A)]

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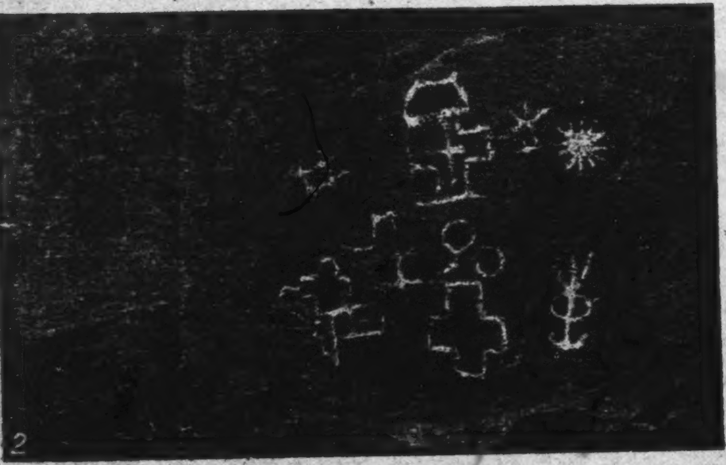

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Pictographs: 1, "Saiko" pointing out pictographs found at site shown on plate 68, 1. 2, Pictographs at the same site chalked over by "Saiko" to facilitate photographing them.

[p. 316(B)]

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[115]

Musical instruments: 1, Kolupan holding a trutruka (Pilpil). 2, An informant demonstrating the use of a trutruka (Trumpul). 3 and 4, A kultrum, a kettledrumlike instrument, and drum stick. (Courtesy Parque Nacional de Lanín).

[p. 316 (C)]

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[354]

Baking bread (Trumpul): 1, An improvised bake oven—an oil drum. 2, A loaf of bread baked in the oven.

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1, Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2, Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quilaquina). 3, Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

534 Traditional musical instruments were the kultruŋ, the trutruka, the pifəlka, the tupulwe, the pioko, the piloilo, and the chollol; the tralatrala has been added to these since the introduction of the horse; and in still more recent years, the jew's-harp and the guitar also.

A kultruŋ is a kettledrum-type instrument (pl. 70, *3, 4*). It is made by stretching a circular piece of well-scraped hide of young horse or female goat over the opening of a wooden bowl—one hollowed out of a tree-trunk section. Sheep hide must not be used since it tears easily. The horsehide of a kultruŋ in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanin is kept taut by lacings that are passed through holes cut along the edge of the hide. These lacings are about 5 inches from the rim of the bowl. The diameters of the bowl are 12 inches at the opening and 5 inches at the base. The handle is of rawhide of horse, wound about with several layers of green yarn. Its drumstick—only one is used—is a piece of shaved-down wood, 14 inches long and ½ inch in diameter. The 5 inches at the end used in beating the kultruŋ are bare; the remainder wound about alternately, in 3-inch stretches, with blue and white yarn. The paruntun, one of the sacred dances of the ŋillatun, is performed to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. Generally the machi beats the kultruŋ, but the cacique is known to have done so, also.

The trutruka, a wind instrument (pl. 70, *1, 2*), is made by drawing fresh intestine of horse or cow over a colihüe stalk varying in length from 9 to 12 feet. After the intestine is dry, approximately 7 inches of the wide section of the horn of a cow or an ox is inserted at one end of the colihüe to spread the sound, and a mouthpiece of wood at the other end. The loŋkomeo, another dance of the ŋillatun, is performed to the tune of three or four trutruka and the beat of the kultruŋ.

The pifəlka, a whistle (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), is made of an approximately 12-inch-long section of the branch of a tree, preferably the roble chileno, about an inch in diameter. Bark must be removed since it might obstruct the tune. Tones are produced by holding the pifəlka in an upright position and blowing forcefully across a hole bored in the upper end. The piloilo, a panpipe, is made by boring a row of five or six ventages across one end of a small piece of wood, also peeled of bark. A person skilled in its use can produce several whistling sounds by blowing across the ventages. Men use both the pifəlka and piloilo at the ŋillatun.

The tupulwe, a tune-pipe-like instrument, is a hollowed-out colihüe

534 stalk wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pioko, a flutelike instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of roble or coihüe, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six ventages lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The chollol, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as piwichin, in the ŋillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The tralatrala is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The tralatrala is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the tralatrala is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

535 Kolupan demonstrated the two traditional dances, the loŋkomeo and the pəruntun. He danced the loŋkomeo, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I could do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultruŋ playing the tune for it," he said. The pəruntun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultruŋ by saying, "dung, dung, dung, dung" and then took a step to coincide with each "dung." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dung." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolupan added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the ŋillatun (cf. p. 339).

GAMES

525 A game of chance, known as awár kuden (game with beans), is played by men at get-togethers. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and nonparticipating men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb 525 from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord.

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a 526 goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lelfün in all areas except Malleo, 184 where it is called palitun.

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved 857 of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants 524 were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made."

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 30-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 62, 2) for his 4-year-old son, and also smoothed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

857 524 a traditional game known as kaʃnin—a game played by throwing the knuckle at a goal. The father remarked that an occasional older brother will make similar playthings for a younger brother. During an interview the 4-year-old boy amused himself for a short time in the house by playing kaʃnin. Tired of this, he spent a short time tossing the knuckle into the air and catching it. After that he ran out into the rain and kicked it like a ball through rain puddles. Neither his father nor his grandmother, both of whom were being interviewed, checked him, although it was raining considerably. Back in the house, he tossed the knuckle into the air again and in doing so got close to the hot stove. For this the grandmother scolded him. Continuing his tossing, he landed the knuckle near the interpreter, who then placed her foot on it. When he did not succeed in getting it out from under her foot, he stood still, looked at it, and waited patiently and quietly until she removed her foot. He took the knuckle then, but immediately dropped it and again ran out into the rain. This time he rode his 2-wheeled toy. Pretending he was riding a horse, he hit back of himself with a switch as do horseback riders who wish to speed up the horse.

857 I also saw children entertaining themselves by carrying younger children on the back, letting them drop off unexpectedly, thereby giving other children a hearty laugh (pl. 63, *3*). Three girls, 4, 6, and 13 years of age, caught a dabano (a large buzzing insect), put it into a paper bag, blew into the bag to disturb the insect, and then listened with glee at the buzz it made each time it flew against the sides of the bag. To let the field assistant enjoy the buzz also, they held the bag near her ear.

A group of children and adults listening to an interview were much amused at the surprised look of a 1-year-old child that had caught its hand in a yerba maté cup. Later the grandmother, on whose lap the baby was sitting, entertained it by putting its hand in and out of the cup, tickling its stomach, pinching its cheeks and ears, and covering its eyes but letting it peek, off and on, at the other children present.

Schoolboys and their preschool brothers and sisters entertained themselves during an interview by painting red disks with berries of michai on each others cheeks, saying they wanted to look like the ladies in San Martín de los Andes. Two boys hurdled sand banks that they had built after mimicking galloping horses (pl. 62, *5*). Their little sister stood by and watched them; the mother would not let her hurdle, as it was not the thing for girls to do.

857 231 Formerly, domesticated animals were not pets, but young orphaned rheas and guanacos were. "A man might kill a mother rhea," said

Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might 857
kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little 231
animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *2*).

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, 526
only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, 481
but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children 855
in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today.

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were 751
breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth.

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness 754
comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw

754 but who was like a human, had extraordinary powers. He lived south of here, and persons often went to confer with him regarding sickness. He was talked to from a distance, and answered from there in a strong voice, always. I remember one instance well. The cacique was Chokeri. Either his wife or his sister—I have forgotten which—became very ill. No one knew the cause. So Chokeri sent a messenger to Olul to ascertain the cause. Olul answered that the woman had poison in her blood; they should take her saddle, cut it open, and there find the cause. They did this, and out jumped a big toad. And that was the witchcraft that caused the sickness. They took the toad, threw it into the fire, and roasted it to death. This done, the woman got well. Olul no longer lives. Whoever finds his bones can restore his own health by means of them. I should like very much to find a piece of one, now that I have suffered from a cold for seven weeks; I might get relief."

A 69-year-old woman complained that a jealous man, a neighbor who had powers of witchcraft, had inflicted sickness upon her and her 25-year-old daughter. They were considered rich, whereas the man had only a few possessions. A black vulture had hopped around their yard recently, one they had not seen before. It occurred to them that harm was being done to them. "We were filled with fear," she said. "That night, while we were in bed, there was much loud knocking in all corners of our house. The next day both my daughter and I were sick. We knew then that the black vulture had been sent to make us sick. We were sick for days. One day while we were feeling very sick, we heard the tramping of many, many horses. It sounded as though horses were going into the shack in which we had stored winter feed for our animals. We went out to see. We could neither see nor hear the horses. We knew that old man, our neighbor, had caused many to die in our area, among them my husband, and we thought we were doomed to die, also. No one in all this area knows what antidote to give for the sickness he inflicts."

754
158 Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians who had lived in close association with Araucanians for several generations knew of only one case of a functional type. Another, a woman who had thyroid surgery in very recent years, was said to have sat for hours drawing Araucanian weaving designs in sand while speaking continuously in Araucanian (non-Araucanians in close association with her for years did not know she spoke Araucanian). When mental ill health did occur, it was believed witches had inflicted it. An 80-year-old woman told of a machi whom everyone feared. "I knew him. One day, when I was already a young woman, he took some apples

from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, 754 158 went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and where he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the machi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became insane. Her father told the cacique what had happened, and said, 'You must help us.' The cacique sent for his own brother and for the machi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the machi, 'You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her.' But the machi would not admit it. The cacique, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The cacique had told the machi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the machi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the machi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the machi's hair—he had long hair. But the machi kept saying, 'No, señor. No, señor.' Then they whipped him with 5 lashes; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 lashes, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The machi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's home. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's home, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of insanity, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of three fires there without being harmed."

PHYSICIANS; THE MACHITUN

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by 755 759 machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers, or only sorcerers. "It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Machi, however, are not respected by Argentines;

755 they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are
759 often spoken of as yerbaderas (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

755 The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultruŋ, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

757 Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the
Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some
of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are
different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain
sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used
as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including
children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the
countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their
grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional
plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy
826 of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martín de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

273 The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies.
757 Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

Apio. The juice of its crushed leaves is drunk in hot water to reduce fever. 278

Cizaña. A decoction of its stalks and leaves reduces fever. "This has great strength; use only a small amount of it." 757

Crochilla (unidentified). The upper layer of its leaves is peeled off and the pulpy oozing side is poulticed against forehead and temples to cure a headache. Dried leaves are replaced by fresh oozing ones until the headache is cured.

Fucsia. A decoction of its flowers relieves a headache. To cure a rash, a decoction made of the entire plant is drunk and the affected parts bathed in it.

Limpia plata, a parasitic beardlike plant that grows on trees in Chile. "People go over there [from Argentina] to get it." A decoction of it relieves abdominal pain.

Llantén or siete venas, popularly known as rat's ears, found in pastures and other dry land. A decoction of its roots reduces coughing. Sap of its leaves and roots is applied directly to open wounds. To obtain the sap, leaves are heated directly over the fire; the roots are cut fine, put into a little bag, and laid into hot ashes until well heated. Both leaves and roots are then squeezed by hand to obtain the sap.

Lliuto or amancay. The crushed plant taken in a decoction relieves intestinal disturbances.

Maqui. Powder made of its dried leaves cures eczema. A decoction of its dried berries relieves kidney and bladder pains, and ends diarrhea.

Natri. When taken as a decoction it alleviates stomach ache and reduces fever.

Neneo. The body, when rubbed down with a decoction of the entire plant, is relieved of aches.

Paico. A decoction of its powdered roots when drunk ends vomiting and cures a stomach ache.

Pañil. A decoction of its leaves relieves adults in every sickness; children, more especially of stomach aches. It soothes open wounds when poured into them.

Paramela, found in pastures. Its crushed stem, leaves, and flowers are put on open wounds, such as cuts. A decoction of it cures stomach ailments.

Parrilla and nalca. A decoction made of leaves and stems of parrilla and of roots of nalca is taken orally to alleviate pain in the kidneys; a decoction of the roots of nalca alone reduces fever, such as that of pneumonia.

Pasto de tres cantos. A decoction of the entire plant is taken when one is sick without localized pain.

Poleo (an unidentified mint, "with leaves a little smaller than those of orégano"). A decoction of its leaves relieves stomach ache.

Quillay, found in humid places. A decoction of it relieves headache; the juice of its crushed leaves reduces fever.

Quiñal (unidentified). The plant grows on stones along the edges of lakes; it has few leaves and thick roots. Its juice is taken orally for heart disease and fever.

Retamolla or lechuguilla, a tall plant found in high altitudes. Used for seven sicknesses, among them lung infections, stomach troubles, and liver ailments. "It cured a woman here, not long ago, of a lung infection."

Roble chileno. A decoction of its core—"you know its heart is red"—is given to one thought to be bleeding from internal injuries, "like a man upon whose chest a tree has fallen."

278 Seya. To cure sore eyes, leaves stripped of outer layers are poulticed below, above, and to the side of the eye.

757 Toronjil. Any stomach ailment is relieved by a decoction of it. "We sometimes call this plant melisa; in Chile it is called toronjil cuyano."

Unfermented apple juice is taken as a blood purifier.

For sore throat, an unidentified plant is cooked in a small amount of water until it forms a thickened concentrated substance. This was applied deep down in the throat with the first two fingers.

NOTE: Juices are extracted from plants either by scraping or pounding them; by crushing them in the palms of the hands; or by rubbing them by rotating the palms, one over the other, with a circular motion; or mashing them with the fist of one hand in the palm of the other hand. Powder is obtained by pounding dried plants between stones. (See Appendix B for other plants used by the Araucanians.)

Curative household measures not related to plants are the following:

A burn is overlaid with a wad of wool saturated with blood from a slight incision made in the comb of a chicken.

Kerosene is poured into an open wound.

A thin slice of meat, slightly heated in the fire and rubbed in with salt, is applied to a bruise, "including a blue eye."

Mother's milk is dropped into a newborn baby's eyes and into sore eyes of older children and adults.

A broken arm or leg is tied between straight slender branches of a tree.

Formerly, the meat of a dog, not yet a year old, was eaten to cure stomach ailments. Stomach troubles were also alleviated by drinking water containing the scrapings of blue stones, "the ones that fall during a thunderstorm." "My mother has two of these stones, very dark blue ones, which she used in this way."

The bile of any large animal mixed with clear water taken orally brings a boil to a head.

Bad blood thought to be due to sickness is let flow through a piercing made in the upper layer of the skin of the person's hand.

A 65-year-old man had wound red yarn around his painful wrist. "I saw a mestizo Argentine do this, south of here where we were shearing sheep. Since it gave him relief, I thought I would try it."

No remedy for toothache was known. An aching tooth was pulled—"but we seldom have a toothache. My daughter there [14 years old] and my son [25 years old] have never had a toothache. I [85 years old] had my first tooth pulled recently—it was a loose tooth. I loosened it by stretching leather. We stretch leather by holding it taut with the teeth and pulling it with both hands." [281] Eating meat raw is thought to keep teeth intact.

No remedy for goiters is known. "Not even the remedies used by the Argentines help us. Formerly we had no goiters." Persons with goiters—men and women of all ages and adolescent boys and girls as well—were seen in all areas visited.

Water was dashed into the face of a frightened, breathless child. If this did not cause the child to breathe, the mother put her mouth upon the child's and forced her own breath in and out of the child's lungs. (Cf. also pp. 280-281 for treatment of sick children.)

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Formerly a cacique had three, four, or more simultaneous wives; 545 having several wives added to his prestige. The great-grandfather [622] of the present cacique in Quilaquina had six wives; his grandfather had three; his father, four; he himself has one. Commoners not infrequently had two wives; in more recent times, with rare exceptions, they have only one.

In the early days the support of several families was no economic problem. Later, however, a man would have found it difficult to take care of two families—"that was while we were being deprived of our land and animals, and were being chased from one place to another." Today it is impossible for a man to support more than one family; also, monogamy is enforced by Argentine law.

Each of simultaneous wives lived with her children either in a separate toldo, in one of several attached toldos, or in a section of one large toldo. Attached toldos had outside entrances only. Simultaneous wives were seldom sisters. "Our cacique had six wives, not one was a sister of any of the others. The six lived in two houses, and agreeably so." Each wife took her turn at cooking for all, but all wives and their children ate with the husband. A 70-year-old informant, the son of a cacique, told of his father's three wives: "They were not sisters, but life was always pleasant in our house. We all lived together in one house and had one big fireplace. My mother had six children; one of the other wives had four; the other, five.—I recall one cacique who had 25 children, because of his many wives.—We children of the three wives got along well; we had great respect for each other and liked each other; our parents would not have allowed us not to like each other. My own mother I called ñuke; she was my father's first wife. The other two women I called kake ñuke; in your language it would be aunt mothers. My father I called chau chau. All sons of his three wives were my brothers, and I called them peni; all his daughters were my sisters, and I called them lamgen or dea."

When Kolupen married, the Argentine army was already in control, and monogamy was being enforced. Quoting him: "I had one child by my first wife. I did not like my first wife. While married to her I went around like a wild horse. After she died I married another. I had a daughter and a son by her. After she died I had two wives at the same time; each lived in a separate house. One was my true wife, according to Argentine law; the other I had alongside of her, 595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. [illegible]en a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an [illegible]ntine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage [illegible] neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even [illegible]ys of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

[587 [614 Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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than themselves. "Fifteen years, 18 years, is certainly no age for marriage." 582

Kolupan described the traditional proper way of arranging for a marriage: The man told his parents of a liking he had for a girl. His parents, if they too liked the girl, conferred with the girl's parents about a possible marriage. Both parents of the girl had a voice in the decision, but it was the girl's father who expressed the consent to the man's parents and who set the bride price. The bride price was seldom less than four or five large animals, such as cows or horses; if the groom's parents were wealthy, the price might be 20 head of cattle. These were to be given to the girl's father; it was understood that the girl's mother would be presented with gifts of silver ornaments, money, and clothing. The girl's consent to her betrothal was rarely sought; nor were her likes or dislikes taken into consideration. In fact, she did not always know the man to whom she was promised. A listening-in woman in her seventies, the daughter of a late cacique, had not known the man to whom she was promised. Her father received as bride price for her a riding horse, a new saddle, and a large number of cattle. 584

Child betrothal was recognized but was a rare occurrence.—Whether child betrothal was traditional or borrowed from the Argentines was difficult to ascertain.—The betrothal might occur when the girl was no older than 5 years, but marriage did not take place until she was at least 15. Kolupan believed that the bride price, in such cases, was paid at the time of betrothal. "How else could both sides have been held to their promises," he reasoned, and added, "However, in those days a word meant more than written documents do today. Such a girl was carefully guarded by her uncles, aunts, brothers, and parents; in fact, by all her relatives," he noted. "Nothing was to happen to her; the chief reason for guarding her was to prevent anyone else from wanting to marry her."

In more recent times it has been considered proper for the man himself to ask the consent of the girl's parents. Once the girl was promised to him he could come to her home, but the girl had to get her mother's express permission to speak to him. "These were delicate things and had to be strictly observed." Sometimes, however, the couple evaded the parents. "I arranged with the girl first, and then I asked her parents for her," said a man in his fifties. He laughed about this.

Today parents have had to make further concessions. The young man alone asks the consent of the girl's parents, or he and the girl together ask for it. There is no longer a bride price. The custom was

584 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 30-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kolupan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martín de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take soot from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of soot.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a puma, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the roosters crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the home of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kolupan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver 585 things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today.

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part 586 would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family."

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a [684] cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed.

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives 574 paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for 585 her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high- [516] pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!"

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

574 585 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their [195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?—Son, here, is piñen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fəta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋənechén; at the

ŋillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, prayers are directed to chau chau, God as the father of all. "We believed that ŋənechén came to earth when we had done our planting and that he moved through the fields then; that even today he wanders about on the earth and does good to people." With God, it was believed, lived a woman, known as ray kuʃe, but she was not a goddess, informants insisted. She is addressed in the prayers of the ŋillatun as papai, the mother of all. "That was our old belief," said a woman in her late fifties; "today we believe that ray chau has living with Him, in addition to ray kuʃe, a virgin who has a son called Jesus. Ray kuʃe wears a blue dress; ray chau, a blue chiripe [pants] and a red poncho. I do not know how the virgin is dressed. There is only one God. He rules the world and gives us good health and food and long life. I liked our old way best, when we believed in ray chau and ray kuʃe." 776

There was no belief in minor deities. Something akin to veneration was shown to stones resembling figurines. (Whether the belief is an old one was not ascertained.) The cacique in Collón Curá is said to have in his possession a stone, approximately 12 inches high, that has red-blue eyes and red lips. At the ŋillatun a new silk band is tied about its forehead and secured at the back of the head with a knot, just as men secure their headbands; a sash is tied about its waist; a silver knife placed gaucho-style at its back; and a small arrowhead put in its arms. "I am afraid of the stone; it is sacred. Some years ago one of the sons of the cacique sold it to a man from Buenos Aires but advised him to safeguard it behind several locks. This the man did. But one night the figurine walked out, killed the Buenos Aires man, and came back to the seller's home in Collón Curá. In the morning it made a terrifying noise; it so frightened the man who had sold it that he died the following day." When we asked where in Collón Curá we might see the figurine, the informant replied, "It is a dangerous thing for you to try to see it. Stay around until the time of our ŋillatun when everyone attending the ŋillatun can see it. But be respectful toward it. One time a woman like you [non-Araucanian] was invited to take part in it [the ŋillatun]. She said, 'Why should I take part in it? I have no interest in the ŋillatun.' And then she made some flippant remarks about the ŋillatun and also about the figurine. She went away. An electric storm rose. Lightning struck her. She fell down and was dead for a few hours. After that the right side of her face was lamed." She added, "I know of no other sacred stones in use." 778

Old Araucanian men and women today express awe when they 778
come upon two weather-beaten stones representing figures found in 781

778 [78] the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. *76*, *5*, *6*); they step backward and refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 788 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly. They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE NILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "rogativo." Camaruka is probably an adaptation of the Quechua word "camarico" (Moesbach, 1944, p. 35). "They all mean the same," said the cacique of Malleo; "they mean prayer of thanksgiving and petition offered by all the people together—it is a united prayer. We thank God for what we have received in crops and animals and children and health, and we ask Him for particular things that are for the welfare of all the people." The welfare of all the people includes good health, favorable weather during growing time, a good harvest, and the prevention of killing frosts or snowfalls, or bitterly cold winters. One extraordinary intention (one for which the ŋillatun was conducted out of the regular time) was to avert starvation. A year of dire want was known to follow the year in which the colihüe blossoms, which, informants said, occurs about every 20 to 30 years. Informants explained that rats, attracted by the seeds of the colihüe, came in large numbers, and after having eaten the colihüe seeds, they ate the wheat and other food supplies. Consequently, as soon as there was indication that the colihüe would blossom, each cacique called his people together for the ŋillatun. 796 131

Formerly the ŋillatun was held regularly twice a year: once following seeding time and again at harvest time. Each cacique, having decided on the days for the celebration of the ŋillatun, sent two young men to give notice to his people. At present each area that still has a cacique holds the ŋillatun only biennially, and that at harvest time; but a cacique takes his people, during the in-between year, to the ŋillatun of another cacique upon the invitation of that cacique. Also, today, areas that no longer have a cacique join with an area that does. Such areas, for example, as Trumpul, Pilpil, Catin Lil, Lolog, Pilolil, Chasanel, Kaleufu, and the shores of the River Limay, which no longer have a cacique, attend the ŋillatun conducted in Quilaquina. Kaleufu conducted its last ŋillatun under its late cacique, Shaihueke; Trumpul, under its late cacique, Cayún.

Araucanians in the Quilaquina area were restless in the summer of 1952 because the cacique of the area had not sent out notice that the ŋillatun would be celebrated in the fall of the year. "This is the year for it," said Kolupan. "This is an important thing; not something to be trifled with. The present cacique was reared in the schools of the Christians; he is lax; he attaches no significance to the ŋillatun; if he does not hold one soon, he will meet with death. His brother, the cacique before him, had more sense; he held at least one every year." (The cacique did die; he froze to death in the winter of 1952.)

Plans for holding the ŋillatun late in April (fall of 1952) were

796 under way in February in Malleo, Aukapun, and Collón Curá. "When harvesting and sheep shearing on the estancias terminate, our people return home; it is then that we shall celebrate the ŋillatun."

The ŋillatun is always conducted on a plot of land reserved for that purpose and considered sacred, one sheltered from winds. (Cf. fig. 9 for diagram of ŋillatun.) No domestic use is supposed to be made of it, but this restriction is being ignored today. Old persons expressed regret and grief at seeing cattle and sheep grazing on it, or grain growing there. "The cacique has a difficult time keeping people from plowing and seeding the plot; land is so scarce now. And then,

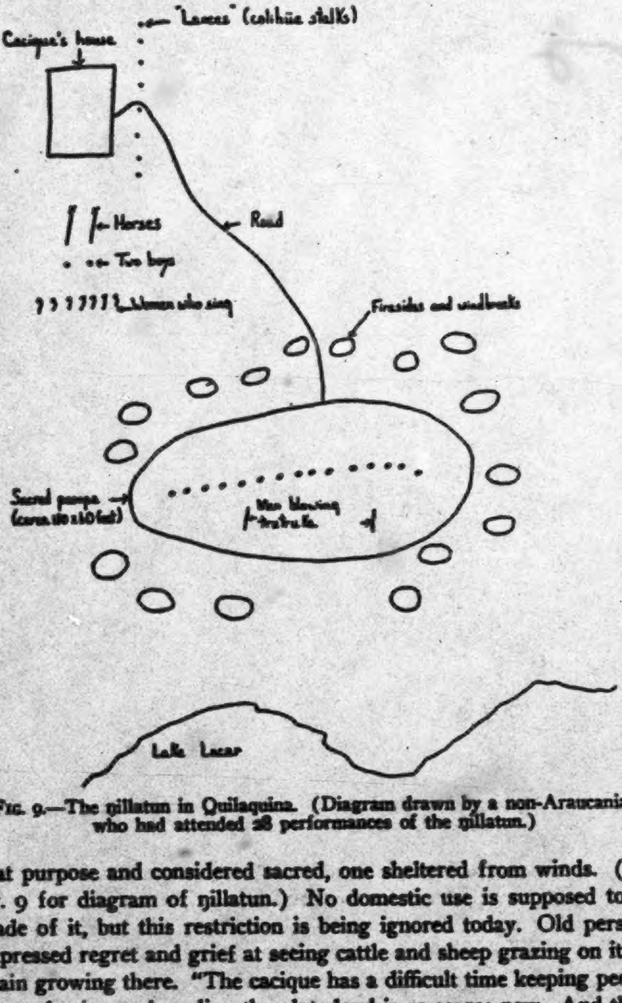

"Lances" (colihüe stalks)
Cacique's house
Horses
Road
Two boys
Women who sing
Firesides and windbreaks
Sacred pampa (circa 180 x 110 feet)
Men blowing trutruka
Lake Lacar

Fig. 9.—The ŋillatun in Quilaquina. (Diagram drawn by a non-Araucanian who had attended 28 performances of the ŋillatun.)

796 too, so many young persons today have no faith in the ŋillatun; in fact they pay no attention to anything related to our old ways."

The cacique who called the people together for the ŋillatun is the officiating officer at the ceremony. He is assisted by two men from his jurisdiction, inka or kellu, referred to by informants as captain and sergeant. Other persons of importance are the machi and the four piwichen—two boys in early adolescence and two preadolescent girls. All other persons present, except children, are expected to participate; children are nonparticipant observers. "Children know nothing about things yet; but they are made to observe everything so they will learn. But today, not even children want to learn the old ways; it is a pity!"

796 302 Since there is no longer a machi in Quilaquina area, an ordinary woman replaces her. It is she who beats the kultruŋ. Before the ceremonies begin, each of her hands is painted from knuckles to wrist with three pairs of lines, each pair consisting of a black and a white line. A similar pair of lines is painted across her nose, from cheek bone to cheek bone, and another pair across her forehead from temple to temple. On her head she wears a trarüloŋko, a silver ornament. The two preadolescent girls (piwichen) are decorated in the same manner; the two boys (piwichen) each have only one black line from cheek bone to cheek bone across the nose.

796 The complete ceremonial takes two days. Families arrive at the plot reserved for it on the evening preceding the first day. Each family brings a 2-day supply of food, blankets on which to rest and sleep, and sacrificial family offerings of food. Traditional offerings were wheat, corn, catuto (p. 366), tortilla, an eagle, and mudai (p. 371); optional offerings were chickens, sheep, and calves. Today, offerings are usually the traditional obligatory ones, "or whatever the people want to offer." Chicha (pülku) has replaced mudai. An occasional family brings one or two of the optional offerings. The cacique provides the traditional tribal sacrifice, a white horse; or in the event no white horse is obtainable, a roan-colored one. Today a sheep or calf often replaces the horse. Only the blood of animals is sacrificed; their meat is either eaten, or is thrown into the fire, together with the bones, at the end of the ceremonial to be totally consumed. Dogs must be kept from getting any of either.

The evening of their arrival, persons sit around until midnight, resting and visiting. At midnight the men plant 3- to 4-foot-tall colihüe stalks in a row approximately 20 yards long. This done, each woman places at the base of a stalk her family offerings of food and also a

796 cup and a pottery plate—the cup must be of the traditional type, that is, either pottery or made of the large end of a cow's horn.

Chicha is then poured into a large vessel, which stands "at the place for God" (probably an altar), and also into small ones. "Formerly we used mudai made of araucaria nuts, quinoa, or wheat. Whatever is used must be drunk through hollowed-out colihüe stalks from traditional-type cups." During the ceremonial some of the beverage from the large vessel is sprinkled "heavenward to God"; the remainder is drunk by the people.

Just before sunrise, preparatory to the opening of the ceremony, each man that traveled to the ŋillatun on horseback mounts his horse. So do the two boys, each in a chiripe and carrying a colihüe tipped with a piece of blue cloth. All now line up in formation, the two boys leading and the men on horseback, each holding a colihüe stalk, following. Next come the men on foot, each also carrying a colihüe. Then follow the two girls, each wearing a chamall and carrying a chollol (rattle). The women, also on foot, bring up the rear. The procession moves completely around the row of the colihüe stalks several times. Children are not part of the procession, "but they are everywhere; they do not participate in anything except the eating."

After a rest period it is time to sacrifice the large animal. The animal is laid on its back, each leg held by one of four men, its belly cut open, and its heart pulled forward. Its pulsating heart is cut into small pieces, and a piece immediately eaten by every ceremonial participant. "I have seen this done by the Aigo tribe at Pulmari, which still performs the ceremonial along the exact traditional lines," said a non-Araucanian. "It is an unbearably cruel thing to see the breast of a living mare cut open and her heart withdrawn. The Curruhuinca tribe at Quilaquina has modernized the ceremonial; it is no longer done there." An estancia owner in the Malleo area, a non-Araucanian, allowed his Araucanian workers to take animals from the estancia which they said they needed for the performance of the ŋillatun, among them a white mare. "I attended the ŋillatun as an onlooker," he said. "In due time the men brought the white mare forward, and I knew then that they were about to sacrifice her, that they would pull out her heart while she was still living. I could not bear the thought. I pulled my revolver and shot the mare. The Araucanians were so angry with me that for some time thereafter I thought they would kill me."

Prayers at the ŋillatun are directed to God as the father of all (chau chau) and to the woman with him as the mother of all (papai). Chau chau and papai are reminded, first of all, of the affection they have for the people. "Then we say to them: 'Bless us, your people, with wheat and apples and good weather; bless us with good health and sufficient food; bring children to our families; protect our children and keep all evil from them; bring an increase to our animals, also!'" According to a Collón Curá informant, prayers are said during the dances. The following is one of these: "I hope that this prayer of the people, a united prayer, will be answered, father king of the earth and distinguished woman of the kingdom." He wrote it in Araucanian: "Peumguem queme tripapa tayin traun fəta chau chau, rey mapu, ray kuʃe," and added, "It is a pity that so few persons today know the Araucanian prayers of former days; when we lived like real Araucanians, like the Mapuche in Chile still do, everybody could join in the prayers." 796

Prayers are said with hands held open at face height, palms toward the colihüe, while standing (today kneeling) near the colihüe at the base of which are the offerings of one's family. Men pray first; women next. Following this, the women sing several songs, again with hands raised to face level and palms toward the colihüe stalks. One song refers to the eagle: "The eagle, the eagle, the eagle! The eagle stands at midday. High in the heavens he stands, in the wind, in the wind." The men call out a refrain of "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!" The women then sing of the puma: "The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! I have a good horse. Even though the mountains are high, my horse is good. There is no better horse than mine, says the puma. The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! He says, I have a good horse; I have a good horse; I have the best horse that travels the Cordillera; as bad as the road may be, my horse always runs!" Again the men answer with the refrain "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!"

The machi now beats the kultruŋ, and all present clap hands to the rhythm. Dancing, known as pəruntun, begins. Each woman joins one hand with a hand of a man. With men to the outside, couples in close formation move forward circlewise in a hopping staccato step, alternately on each foot. "Whenever we say pəruntun, we mean this type of dancing; it is a sacred dance and everyone is serious during it; formerly we did not dance when we were gay, like we do today." While the pəruntun is being danced, the men on horseback ride around the dancers, but a short distance from them. The pəruntun ended, the men on horseback form a line and ride toward the sun, praying for the people. 796 535

A Collón Curá informant listed five dances that are performed during the ŋillatun in his area. They are the dance of the choike (rhea), the mara (patagonian hare), the tregle (a bird), the pəno pəno mapu

796 535 (stamping on the ground), and the huillafən kawell (galloping horse). The dancers of the choike today wear rhea feathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear these. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Collón Curá informant folded a poncho cornerwise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, remarking that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultruŋ.

796 [276] Only old men smoked at the ŋillatun. Clay pipes (raq kitra) made by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver. Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (metawe), ollas (challa), whistles (pifəlka), plates (ral'i), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive canelo of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the ŋillatun.

At the closing of the ŋillatun the men on horseback face the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately 2 feet below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quilaquina in April," noted Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a ŋillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quilaquina at the end of the last ŋillatun, but someone plowed the land of the ŋillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they are going one by one!" It was customary for the cacique to order the 796 sergeant to unearth the vessel at the subsequent ŋillatun. "He may find the vessel half emptied," noted Kolupan. "If he does, the cacique will announce to the people that either chau chau took the other half or the dead ate it—there is a world in which the dead live, you know." "Do you really believe, Kolupan," I asked, "that the dead ate it?" Much annoyed he rejoined, "Most certainly, the dead took it. And they must have eaten it or why would they have taken it? You could come to that conclusion yourself!"

BLACK ART, HOBGOBLINS, VISIONS

Formerly, both sexes were accused of being sorcerers (kalku); 754 today, more often men are so accused (when I was in the area, a Quilaquina man in his fifties was so accused; cf. p. 322). Sorcerers do harm to persons, animals, and fields by personal contact or through a medium. Harm done to a field of grain is called danu; witchcraft in general is called kalkutun. Witchcraft can be overcome, however, by someone who knows how to counteract it.

Witchcraft is often exercised because of jealousy. It may be used on someone who has a good harvest several successive years to bring about failure in his crops or sickness for himself. Sorcerers were 683 punished by being hung over a fire and left there to burn to death. "That is the way it was done, formerly. The kalku would say, 'Why do you hang me? What you accuse me of, I have not done. These people whom you say I caused to die died a natural death; they would have died in any event.' But the hanging was done." Kolupan told of one method of attempting to discover sorcerers. "Cheoketta, a cacique, was cold-hearted. When it was known that an enemy was on the way to attack our people, he called the people of his lofche together and ordered all the women to sit down in two rows.—My father often told me this.—Cheoketta wanted to find out if there was a kalku among the women; he feared that if there were one, she would betray our people to the enemy, once the enemy was near enough. He ordered each woman to raise both hands like this [thumbs opposed and palms outward]. Behind each woman stood a man who rested his lance upon the woman's shoulder. There was much and loud beating of the kultruŋ, and yelling by the people. Every woman was now closely observed. If she moved her hands or dropped them or showed nervousness in any way, she was declared to be a witch, and was burned to death. Cheoketta died. His son Llakatrul was the next cacique. He said that it was not right to kill a woman for such reasons, that maybe

754 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Llakatrul did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 80-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman revengefully, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

776 Solomonkeros, witches of "people who lived north of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (renu), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulafquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

776 There is a belief in hobgoblins, which are called anchimallen. "They seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they
787 appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me anchimallen are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

Several informants had had visions, among them Kolupan. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred, like sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'sh, sh, sh,' like frightened sheep do. Since sheep are frightened only when they see something bad, I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing: I saw a kalku, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer sober. Suddenly, we both saw a radal (tree) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

776 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants sus- 754
pected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called choñ- 763
choñ. The sounds of choñchoñ are like the call of a bird in flight and
are heard only at night; consequently, choñchoñ is spoken of as a 787
nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding choñchoñ as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call choñchoñ. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard choñchoñ say "Tua, tua, tua." Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard choñchoñ say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when choñchoñ is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends choñchoñ intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe choñchoñ is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard choñchoñ. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of choñchoñ, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

763 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I
787 dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone—the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

In the early days the body was wrapped in a hide after death; in 764
more recent times, in a homewoven blanket; at present, it is dressed in the person's own clothes. While waiting for burial, formerly, the body rested on a platform of poles built for the purpose. Just before burial it was placed between the halves of a hollowed-out tree-trunk section, known as a wampu. Today a body rests on the platform used as a bed, and is buried in a coffin.

Formerly, the day of burial depended on the status of the person: 764
commoners were kept one or two days after death; important persons, 766
three or four days. The body of a cacique was sometimes kept five or six days, depending on the time when people from all surrounding areas, expected for the burial, had arrived.

Whether depositing a corpse in a cave dates back to early days 764
was not known to informants. "I have seen human bones in many caves," said an old informant. "When I was young I heard old people say that whenever the army was chasing our people there was no time to bury the dead in graves; that a corpse was wrapped in a hide at such times and laid into a cave; that never before that time were people laid in caves." Saiko had seen the remains of burials in caves in many places, and also on rock shelves under rock shelters. Skeletons found in caves are in supine position, as are those found in burials everywhere, he noted. He had been present at excavations, including those of Araucanian graves, in many areas of the Araucanian country, and had himself dug sites of old Indian burial places. In the oldest burials, he observed, stones are found around, under, and above the skeletons; in later burials skeletons are found in wampu. He had seen no urn burials, nor any in which the body was in flexed position. All burials, he said, faced the rising sun. Burials today, with few exceptions, are in cemeteries.

Formerly, food, the deceased person's clothing, and all things considered his personal belongings were put into the wampu and buried with the body. "Always a woman's spindle, her silver ornaments, the ollas in which she stored her personal things, and her clothes," were buried with her, noted a 70-year-old woman. A listening-in woman added, "If a man had a trutruka, it was buried with him; and the kultruŋ was buried with the machi to whom it belonged." A man's silver-ornamented bridle and saddle were placed on his favorite horse, the horse shot at the place of burial, and both the rider's gear and horse were buried with the man. If the man owned other silver things, these too were buried with him. No food was brought to the place of burial after interment. Today the clothes of the deceased are buried in a place so far from the dwelling that the place cannot be seen.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentina

764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known

623 as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Melifiamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüfilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area 423
of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries
of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large 621
tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of 622
the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the
area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the
area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized
exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines
of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock
formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected
between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not
sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by
an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained [556
it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; 565]
and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have
4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique
had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But
such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use
some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee
to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It
sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell
into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an
epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to
drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of
the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals,
and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera."
A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but
he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel
ensued between owners because of them.

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to 622
new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul
told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique:
"My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques.
When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people
lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became
cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people
to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then
came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche.
When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina),
and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for
the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche.
622 An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing
628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Re-
726 garding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each
[411] formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Ar-
[823] rowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks
648 on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately
726 into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the
622 Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it.
648 From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

"My husband, a cacique, never interfered when one of his people was 622
apprehended by the Argentine soldiers. He used to tell his people to 648
conduct themselves according to the order of things and they would not be apprehended." No cacique was subservient to another, but when grave danger threatened the Araucanians as a people, the caciques rallied their men under the strongest cacique. Shaihueque was such a cacique.

Formerly, upon the death of a cacique his eldest capable son became 622
cacique—usually a son of his first wife. If a cacique had no sons, a man of ability was chosen by the men of the lofche. No woman, formerly, occupied the position of cacique; today she does so in El Salitral. An informant wishing to emphasize the importance of either being an heir to the position of cacique or being properly elected to the position told the following: "My father was the cacique of the Caruhuincas. His eldest son, one of my brothers by my father's first wife, was not fit to succeed him: he was mentally not capable of doing the cacique's work. Hence, my brother Abel took over—he had attended the school of the Whites in Valdivia and thought himself fit to be a cacique. He did this without being elected to the office by our men; therefore, he was not really our cacique. He was, however, recognized as representing our lofche wherever my father had done so." Names of former caciques were Painüval, Kalfükura, Catriol, Cheoeque, Paillamil, and Cañuilef.

Two emblems of a cacique's authority were mentioned: one, by non-Araucanians, a sickle-shaped stone, generally 9 inches in length (pl. 74, *5*); the other, by Araucanians, a rectangular stone, generally 2 by 2½ inches (cf. fig. 4, *a*). Both were spoken of as toki kura (toki, ax; kura, stone). All Araucanian informants agreed that the emblem of the cacique's authority was the rectangular stone; whether the sickle-shaped stone was one also is not clear, since no Araucanian recognized it as such. But neither was any Arancanian able to explain why the rectangularly shaped stone was called ax (toki), since it in no way resembles an ax, which the sickle-shaped stone did. Non-Araucanians had been told by old Araucanians, long since deceased, that the sickle-shaped stone was the emblem of authority; that the cacique held it in his hand when he gave an order to his people or addressed them on important matters. No Araucanian informant had heard of this. "My father was a cacique," said a woman in her sixties; "I know he had no such hammerlike toki; his toki was a stone so big [2 by 2½ inches]. He had this hanging from his neck; he never held anything in his hand when he talked to his people." Kolupan examined the toki shown in plate 74, *5*, seemed puzzled, and remarked, 622 "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a revolver! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an axlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kolupan, and added that the axlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Toki, similar to the one shown on plate 74, 5, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nahuel Huapi, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Pucón (Chile). These toki, except one in the Museo Nahuel Huapi, are of dark ungrained stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nahuel Huapi is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

301 Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark ungrained stone, similar to that of the toki.

621 Whenever a cacique and his lofche settled down, they set up their toldos some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the toldos. (According to Kolupan the army introduced the word toldo and called a settlement of toldos a tolderia; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the tolderia. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's toldos—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each wife generally had a toldo. About here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had boleodoras. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his toldos where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The toldos of the men with the lances and boleodoras were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a lofche divided: the Kalfükura were known to have done so. Reumai, one of the sons of Kalfükura, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's lofche; his

lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on 621
in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namunkurá of Collón Curá.

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that 621
his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more 622
capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before
his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people. 562

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
43	Quilaquina and Trumpul	Francisco Curuhuinca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Aigo
60-70	Malleo	Manuel Pañefülu
40	Ancapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuca	Shaihueque
45	Collón Curá (San Ignacio)	Anibal Namunkurá
34	Zaina Yegua	Francisco Ancatruz
30	Quillen	Curriumil
30	Lago Alumine	Puel
30	Huechulafquen, Lago Paimun and Lago Epulafquen	Francisco Canicul
30-40	Piedra Pintada	Pablo Panilef
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Collón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recog- 622
nized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the ŋillatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration.

641 648 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Civica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 423 484 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common. When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648 explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1, 2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 39 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martín de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stoney and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argentine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the 648 cacique. Manuel Pañefülu, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased 427 such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221 sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233 is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

221 233 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

331 556 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapalwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through 243
the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish.

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had 245
its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the [177]
apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, *3*). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, *3*) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found.

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen 244
about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens [245]
are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most [249]
frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield.

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, *1*; 70, 231
2; 78, *3*); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. 417
More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain.

231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

422 Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

552 Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

439 however, conversant with the literature of early travelers in South America say that trade was carried on with these peoples, especially the Guaraní; that the Guaraní, living in what is now southern Brazil and Paraguay, plied the tributaries to the delta of the La Plata River trading with the Araucanians who lived among them. That trade existed with peoples to the north, possibly the Quechua and Aymara, is conjectured, also, because recently airplane pilots who flew the length of the Andes in Argentina reported having observed what may have been a pre-Columbian trade route between the Araucanians as far south as Bariloche and the Aymara and Quechua in what is Peru and Bolivia today. In more recent times trade was carried on mainly across the Andes.

439 491 Passes across the Andes of the early days, still used by Araucanians today, are the Vuriloche Pass in the Bariloche area; the Tromen Pass from Junín de los Andes (Argentina) to Pucón (Chile); and one from Zapala area (Argentina) to El Arco (Chile). (Cf. also pp. 261-262 on passes through the Andes.) A footpath along the shores of Lake Quillen is said to be nearly a yard deep. The Vuriloche Pass, because of its low altitude, was the one generally used for the transfer of cattle. Kolupan had helped to drive cattle for sale from his home on the pampa through the passes of the Cordillera into Chile. Swamps in any pass were bridged by trees felled for the purpose. Old people had heard in their youth of a tunnel that led under the Andes. On the Argentine side it was entered at Lake Negro or Cajon Negro. "People have looked for it in recent times, but cannot find it."

439 Most frequently trading was by barter. Cattle sold to Araucanians or Whites in Chile, however, were paid for in silver coins known as pesos fuertos (the size of an American silver dollar). Since there was no immediate use for silver, except in making silver ornaments, the pesos fuertos were often either stored in caves or buried. One such cave is said to be on Estancia Huechahue. "Much of the silver could probably be found, but no one today knows where it was buried; the men who buried it have all died," said Kolupan. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians noted that silver found in Chile in the early days was brought there in trade by the Quechua and the Aymara; that gold, which was used in trade much later than silver, was mined in what is now Argentina, one gold mine having existed in Chos Malál.

436 Although trade today is still often by barter, Argentine currency is a necessity. At the time the present study was being made, items bought with currency by Araucanians were clothing, sugar, yerba maté, flour, kitchen utensils, schoolbooks, wine, araucaria nuts, and dyes. Currency, too, is needed to pay dentist and doctor bills. Articles,

436 either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn,
handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico
used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a hand-
woven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long hand-
woven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S.
[427] dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to
tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families
[464] also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work,
herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in vil-
lages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each
fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to
1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

492 When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

[493] The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *2*).

481 Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (tranu), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihüe stalk to form an oval-shaped band and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

396 All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making wampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called taŋi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned 396
vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and
wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended
with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the
middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using 502
a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or 782
on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing.

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, *2*), 482
and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steam-
boats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported 442
on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was 505
hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback.

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (paŋi or 224
trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shunam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (truli or pūdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these.

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich 223
(choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pideñ); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu).

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (l'əkai), the bola 224
perdido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have 441
been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting.

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, *4*), a ball was fastened to

224 411 one end of each of three thongs; the other ends were securely tied together. In the 2-balled one only one thong was used; a ball was attached to each end of it. When throwing the boleodora one ball is held in the hand; this ball is somewhat smaller than the others and is slightly oval-shaped. Balls were approximately 1½ inches in diameter (pl. 76, *2*). Thongs were 4-ply braids of leg sinews of rhea or sinew strands of guanaco, approximately 32 inches in length. More often today they are two 4-inch-wide strands of horse hide twisted about each other.

The 3-balled lariat was used in hunting large quadrupeds, such as the guanaco, and in capturing wild horses; the 2-balled ones, in hunting large bipeds, such as the rhea. Today, the 2-balled boleodora is seldom used; the 3-balled one is hurled to twist around the front legs of a horse to prevent it from straying away while the rider is engaged in work or conversation. Boys today use the boleodora to catch rabbits. Accompanied by dogs they chase rabbits for hours and catch an occasional one.

The bola perdido was a lariat with a ball at one end and a substantial solid knot at the other end. The ball, usually 2 pounds in weight, was studded and ended in a sharp point which protruded from its covering of rhea skin. Studs, too, often protruded; sometimes a ball had as many as eight studs. When the bola perdido was being used, the knot end was clutched tight with the hand, the lariat and ball swung in circles above the person, aimed at the head of the animal, and finally released. If the animal was only stunned, it was immediately killed with a spear. A spear was a stout colihüe stalk tipped with a flint arrow. Pumas, pudús, and wild boars were hunted with the bola perdido; pumas were also trapped.

224 One type of trap used in hunting pumas was a circular enclosure of logs, built high enough so that a puma could not jump over it. From the entrance to the enclosure was a covered gangway the size of a puma, at which a trap door hung suspended in an upright position. A live lamb or sheep was placed in the enclosure, and when the puma entered to take the bait, the pressure of its feet released the door, which dropped and closed the entrance. Once the puma was trapped, the hunter reached over the enclosure with a long pole at the end of which was a noose made with a lasso, caught the puma's head in the noose, and strangled it. Kolupan had trapped and killed puma in this manner, using a lasso approximately three-fourths inch in diameter made of five braided strands of horsehide. Today, he uses the lasso in lassoing horses and cattle. If a hunter came upon a puma in a tree, he stabbed it with a spear. The wounded puma then moved slowly

down the tree where it was dispatched by three or four dogs. Huemul 224
were chased to exhaustion by dogs, and then lassoed.

Hares and birds were snared. Today, school-age boys snare rabbits [857]
and birds in a noose as formerly. A rabbit snare was made of a heavy cord with a noose at one end. This was laid in a path or in a place under a fence where rabbits were known to pass. The other end of the cord was tied to a stationary object, such as a post or tree. When the rabbit kicked the noose, it contracted about its legs. Formerly, according to the boys' grandmother, even Patagonian hares were caught in such snares, which at that time were made of long grass. Birds used to be, and still are, caught in a similar snare, being enticed into the noose by feed, such as grass seeds. The hunter nearby pulls the end of the rope and thus closes the noose about the bird's legs.

Armadillos were killed with sticks and are so killed today. They are found on prairies and in mountain valleys. "You must hit quickly when you see one, and hit and hit. These animals are so quick in digging a hole into which to crawl that you may lose one before you know it. Grab his tail if he is getting into the hole before you have killed him; but do not be surprised if you hold his tail and see him disappearing into the ground. There are two kinds of armadillos; I like the meat of the small ones best."

Fish native to Andean lakes in the Araucanian country and taken by 226
the Araucanians for food were the pejerrey (remü or kauke); the peladilla (peliolo or peloilla), a scaleless fish; the trucha criolla or perca (lipəŋ); the cauque (malche); and the puyen (upesh).

In the first decade of the 1900's, Andean lakes and rivers were stocked with fish from the United States, England, and Germany (Moreno, 1945, pp. 121-138). Araucanians call these fish by their Spanish names—they have no Araucanian names for them. They are the trucha de arroyo; trucha arco iris; trucha marron or trucha europea; and the salmon. Informants accused the salmon of exterminating the native pejerrey and peladilla from their waters.

Fishing, in the early days, was done in streams. Perca and cauque were speared from the shore in the spring, or at any time when there was high water. A fishing spear was a long colihüe pole pronged at the smaller end in fanlike fashion with four or five thinner, sharply pointed colihüe stalks (informant indicated this by spreading the fingers of his hand). The fisherman either walked along the shore spearing fish he spied, or he remained standing in one place on the shore waiting for fish to pass him. Fish were driven his way by a person who walked slowly and quietly downstream toward him. The slight noise of the footsteps caused the fish to swim downstream to the point where the fisherman stood. Kolupan had speared fish both ways.

When water was low enough for persons to walk in the stream with ease, men and women fished jointly. They entered the stream in semicircular arrangement, elbow to elbow, near the affluence of two rivers or of a river and a lake, and proceeded upstream. Each man held before him in the water a container, either an open sack of hide or a homewoven rug shaped like a receptacle, and each woman held a piece of chamall (homewoven cloth). As the men and women moved forward, fish were trapped in the containers. If the catch was big, the women often sorted out the small fish and dropped them into their blouses; large fish were thrown onto the shore to be picked up later. Before setting out to fish a prayer was said—a short one if only a few fish were to be caught. My informant recited the following short one in Araucanian: "My God, help us to catch fish. We are leaving home now to catch fish. May God help us." "If we went for a big haul we said a much longer prayer."

It sometimes happened that there were too few men and women for a close semicircular formation. In that event the men made a trap by attaching a piece of woven material, known as matra, lengthwise to a long colihüe stalk. Several men held both ends of the stalk slightly above water, bending it somewhat to form a semicircle; other men walked immediately behind so as to keep the matra in vertical position. The women and any men not needed at the trap had in the meantime walked some distance upstream, on the shore. They now walked slowly downstream in the water making a slight noise, thus causing the fish to swim downstream toward the trap. When a goodly number of fish had collected close to the matra, the men behind it lifted the bottom of it forward, forming a bowl-shaped trap in which the fish were caught and lifted out of the water. The matra was then carried ashore and emptied. If the catch was too small the trapping was repeated.

If only a small number of fish was desired two men walked upstream, each grasping the shorter end of a matra that was weighted down with stones attached at intervals. As fish approached the matra, the men caught them by hand and threw them onto the shore. Matras used in fishing were usually from 4 to 6 yards in length and 4 feet in width. Sometimes several women just out for a walk along a stream would catch by hand any fish that swam their way, and carry them home in their blouses. Fish were never anesthetized.

At no time were small children allowed around where elders were fishing. "The less noise there was, the tamer the fish behaved."

Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today 226 fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the [857] Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief 262 among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the 252 heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (aŋim [251] ilo). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (pl. 74, *3*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

252 edge of the fireplace where it was constantly rotated to insure even cooking and to keep the skin from scorching. When the top surface of a stone cooled off, it was turned to bring another hot side up. Rhea meat thus prepared was given to a child as one of its first solid foods. "It was nourishing food, too, for old persons." Other fowl were plucked, visceral contents removed, and either cooked with wild vegetables or roasted on hot stones near the fire.

Armadillo is prepared today as it was formerly. Its visceral cavity is emptied, filled with hot stones, and the animal placed with back down on a good supply of hot coals within an ellipse made of stones. A fire is built within the ellipse well ahead of time, to supply the hot coals needed.

Today, to a large extent, mutton, lamb, beef, and pork have replaced the meats of wild animals. Horse meat is an occasional dish. Meat is usually roasted or stewed; occasionally it is fried in grease. Sometimes the fresh underside of an animal is wrapped around vegetables and roasted on stones near the fireplace. Rabbit meat is held in boiling water for a short time and then fried in grease with onions. When a large number of persons must be fed, as at a wake, a pig or cow is barbecued in its hide.

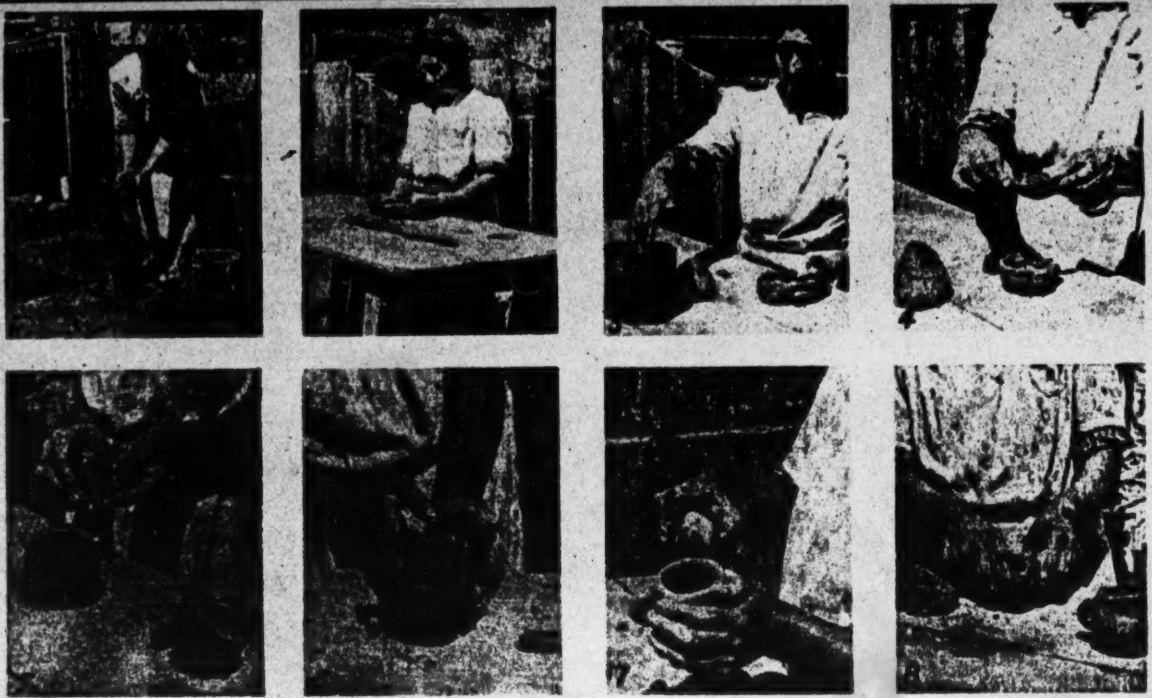
Fish are prepared today as they were formerly, by emptying the visceral cavity and then either cooking them in a small quantity of water seasoned with salt and chili or baking them on hot stones at the edge of the fireplace. Fish are also fried in grease.

Formerly, fish not immediately consumed had entrails removed and were dried. Puyen (none is longer than 5 inches) were dried in the sun; cauque and peladilla were collected on thin colihüe stalks, which were poked through the eyes, and hung over the fireplace. Perca were staked, and also hung over the fireplace to dry. There was no intention of smoking the fish; nor were they salted.

Macha (shellfish) were boiled in water until valves sprung apart. The meat was removed, cut into pieces, and mixed with finely cut onions and garlic (ajo).

263
317 Chief traditional seasonings for foods were salt, chili, and garlic; more recently cilantro and onions have been added to these. Sugar, too, is a recent addition. "In fact, we did not use sugar until we began to drink yerba maté," said a 70-year-old man. "It was brought up here from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires." Salt was formerly collected early in spring before the first rainfall, for "once it rained upon it, it lost some of its savor." Several men together went in search of it. Kolupan, who had searched for it, said "Look for it in low places; there it will be found in crystal form." "We got our salt from a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina



Pottery making (Pilpil): 1, Extracting the sap of maqui leaves to be used with sand as adhesive. 2, Coiling a mixture of clay, sand, and maqui juice to make a jug (metawe). 3, Dampening the side of the pottery with a mixture of maqui juice and water for smoothing the surface. The maqui juice will give the surface a gloss when being fired. 4, Adding coils. 5, Making the handle. 6, Finishing the building of the jug. 7, Smoothing rough areas with a stone. 8, The finished jug, and the beginning of one to be modeled from a single lump of clay.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentina

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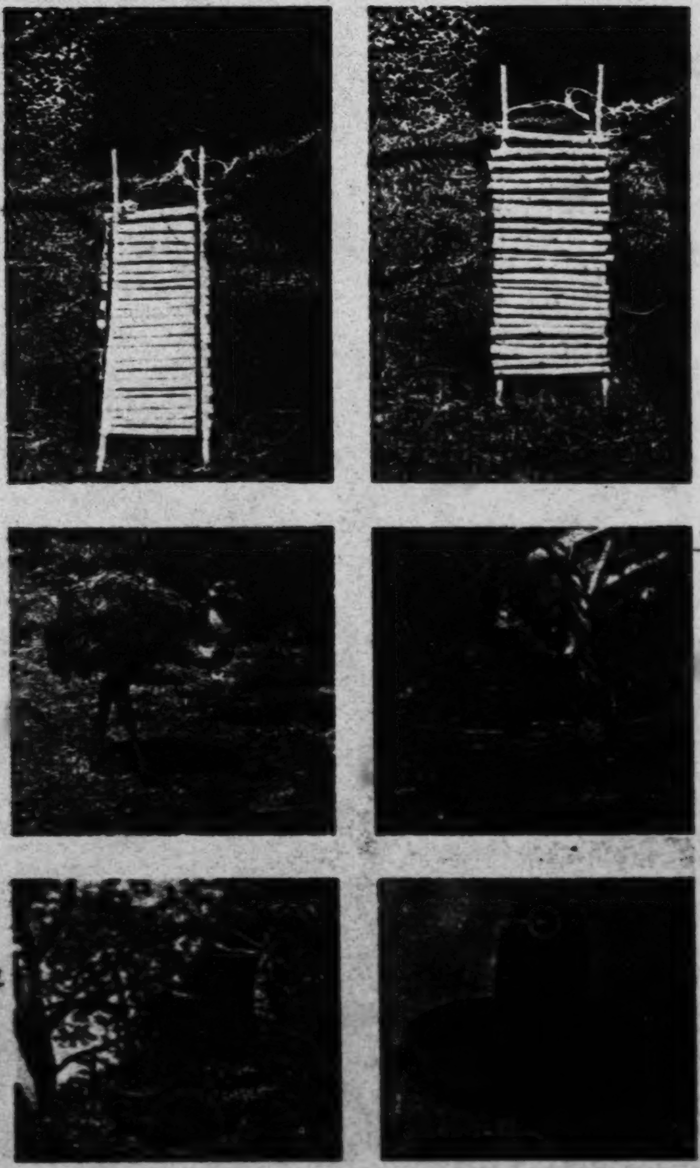

1 and 2, Miniature sample cradleboard made by *Koiopan.* 1, Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 3, Rhea in captivity under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanin (Lago Lacar). 4, A basket (külko) used as a sieve and for carrying and storage (Trumpul). 5, A toki. 6, An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Bertha Ilg-Koessler, San Martin de los Andes.)

[p.364(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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1, Wooden plow (Trompul). 2, Oxcart with tree-trunk section wheels (Quilaquina). 3, A [illegible] (fenced-in area) in which wheat is threshed by tramping horses (Malleo).

[p. 364(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentina

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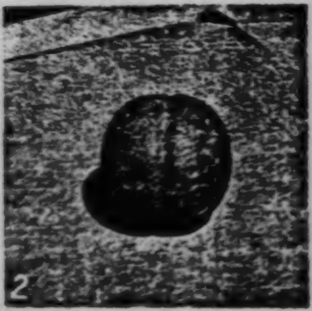

[276]
[411]

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Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleadora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleadoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 364 (D)]

lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls 317
on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there
were any trucks in this area."

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell.

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The 825
shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little sick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told
the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas [222]
on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [2½ feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding food for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks open the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea.

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

262 barley (kawella); cultivated grains were wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapelwa). In later years oats (huinca kawella) were added to these.

252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a muller on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catuto, milke, koñako, mote, iwiñ afün, and kofeñ. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catuto was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a muller on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make milke, grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a 4-cornered piece of pottery, known as lupe, made for the purpose. As the hulls of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the lupe. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the lupe was emptied into a külko, a sievelike basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a ulepol (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mote was wheat cooked in water with ashes of chakai. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. Iwiñ afün was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. Kofeñ was toasted wheat kernels. Koñako was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of napur (unidentified), leaves of watercress (berro), roots and tops of apio or chirivia, and roots of achicoria. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

[177] Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them (funa poñü) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes (kófke poñü) were grated and allowed

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, *3*) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Tromen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Aluminé, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Curruhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in most stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichañas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (challa), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, *1*), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, *1*) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, *2*), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 172]

In 1950 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

415 172 deposited under a large horizontally laid stone slab overgrown with shrubs near Mamuil Malál. Kolupan thought that women had put them there in the days when the Araucanians were being chased off their lands, hoping to reclaim them sometime. "To make a good cántaro is a great deal of work," he noted; "these women probably thought of that when they hid them. Anyway, no one could have carried much pottery when fleeing."

412 Both metate and muller (kudi and fúmkudi) were of stone. The metate was somewhat U-shaped; the muller was slightly convex, and had both ends extending sufficiently beyond the metate to enable the woman to grasp them. "Obviously our people ground wheat or some sort of grain years ago," said an 80-year-old woman, "for frequently we find metates and mullers in graves and also on the surface of the land. If we find them on the surface, we usually find ollas and cántaros there also. Maybe these were the places from which our people were driven by other people."

Mortar and pestle, too, were of stone. They were used primarily for mixing condiments, especially chili and salt. One mortar seen was 4½ inches high and approximately 5¾ inches at greatest width. The hole used for mixing is 2¾ inches in diameter and 1½ inches deep.

415 The lupe is a 4-cornered piece of pottery made expressly for toasting grain. Bowls were made from pottery or were carved out of wood. Thick soups and thin stews were eaten from them. "No spoons were needed when we ate from bowls, for we drank the food directly from the bowl." Plates were made of pottery or of colihüe bark. When eating off plates, spoons were used. Foods that could be eaten with fingers, such as roasts, were served in one large dish carved from a tree trunk. "I still have one large dish that we used when I was a child, and that my father made; it is about so large [18 by 36 inches]."

[321] Spoons used in eating were made by boiling horn of cattle until it appeared white, when it was soft enough to be easily cut into any shape desired. Large spoons used in stirring food in ollas and in serving it were carved from wood of quebracho. "Many Araucanians are again making spoons of quebracho; those metal spoons we buy in the stores break at the junction of the handle and scoop." Knives, in the early days, were made of quebracho also, "but they were too dull to cut most things."

Cups were made of pottery and of the head end section of horn of cattle. The smaller opening of the horn was plugged with wood. A horn cup used in Quilaquina (collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, specimen No. 100) is approximately 6 inches in height and 3½ inches in diameter at the opening. An 88-year-old woman had made pottery

cups for use at the ŋillatun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug- 415
shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle
each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles.

The pichaña was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malleo (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ½ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rəni, the külko (pl. 74, *4*), and 415
the kolkupiu. All three were used for carrying; the rəni and külko, 285
as sieves also; the kolkupiu, for storage also. The small round seeds
of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rəni; wheat is
so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the
wheat through the külko. Wheat was winnowed on a ulepəl, a basketry
winnowing tray.

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made 415
ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils.
Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were at-
tached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*).

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit 252
toward the front of the toldo. Smoke was emitted through an opening
in the roof of the toldo directly over the fireplace. When weather 354
permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present
cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made
kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from
oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick
about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal
sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted
between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a
stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof.
In rare instances a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Pls. 63, *1*; 65, *1*;
66, *2*.)

A woman in Trumpul baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, *1*). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, *1*) that I saw (they were said to be 354

354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 312 The most desirable firewoods are ñire and chacay because they give much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *2*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

[533 782] A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

264 around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table.

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when 252
cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for 462
this was known.

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at 271
its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncon- 312
taminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there 361
was an uncontaminated source of water.

272 Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat.

273 Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha.

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made 272
of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and [illegible]

272 [574] children at mealtime and as a between-meal drink. It[1] is also served to visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

342 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trəkle ruka [house of pelts], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trəkle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with mudai was served, a celebration known as the kawiñtun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

[1] [i.e. yerba mate. -Analyst]

ground, so located that the rear of the toldo was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the toldo to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the toldo with paint made of white earth (mallo) or red earth (kelü barro) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wool. "I like to think of those days," Kolupan reminisced, "when we used to visit back and forth sitting in those attractively decorated toldos. We did not have to work at hard labor as we do today. All that men had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 461

Hides used as toldo coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (kura quñkü) (pl. 74, *6*), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now smeared over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "One can tell when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 5 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of volcanic rock, porous and light. Brain was not used in softening hides. 342 281

342 volcanic rock, porous and light. Brain was not used in softening hides.

Hides were sewed together with strands of horse sinew or very narrow strips of the thin skin found on the flesh side of horsehide. "I have seen my mother take the sinew that lies along the full length of the spine of the horse including the tail, pound it to softness, and then pull the fibers apart. She used these as thread." A young man, upon the advice of his mother, had recently used strips of the inner lining of horsehide to sew together parts of a bridle; his mother had used similar strips to sew together hides for toldo coverings some years ago.

Dwellings today are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses (pls. 63-67). An occasional one has an added lean-to which consists of one wall on the side of prevailing winds, and a roof. Occasionally, too, a sun shelter is seen, made of poles overlaid with a roof (pl. 65, *1*). It is not unusual for a family to have a shed for sleeping or storage purposes.

The framework of the gable-roofed dwelling is of poles or tree trunks. The roof may be thatched with grass or straw, or made of overlapping logs, overlaid lumber, shingles, or tin. Grasses used are totora, coirón (unidentified), and junco; straw is that of wheat. If logs are used, they are sawed in half lengthwise, hollowed out, and laid side by side across the roof with the hollowed-out side up. A second layer of similar logs, but in inverted position, is placed over these so that the sides of each will rest in the hollows of the first layer. The second layer forms the watershed; the first provides drainage. Boards used as roofing are nailed lengthwise across the roof, each one overlapping the upper part of the one below it. Shingles and tin are arranged in the same manner. The floor of the dwelling is usually the ground; in rare cases, planks.

The exterior walls are often slats of wood with bark, such as can be obtained at sawmills; sometimes they are boards. They are nailed to the framework in either horizontal or vertical position. Spaces between slats are filled in with adobe or covered with discarded pieces of tin of various sizes and shapes. If boards and slats cannot be obtained, the leafy ends of colihüe stalks are used instead. Adobe is plastered between and over them. Usually only the room in which the fireplace is located has windows. The door is generally at the gable end of the house. The interior walls are unfinished; the roof forms the ceiling.

352 House furnishings, in general, are a table with one or two suitable benches; low benches around an open fireplace or stove; and shelves attached to walls as separate boards or in a box, used for storing dishes, food, and other things. Sleeping is done on sheep pelts laid on

the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory-made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun. 352

Traditionally, ollas and cántaros and containers made of hide were used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy. 415 251

Things seen stored in sheds included lassos of braided horsehide, inner lining of horsehide, looms, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homewoven blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and boxes used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, boots, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of colihüe stalks that rested on beams of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days guanaco wool was woven into material used for clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant. 291

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripe) and a poncho (makuñ). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (ʃumell). Koiupan demonstrated how a chiripe should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (trarüwe), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or ʃumell (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it near the temple.

281 294 Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of cowhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as toldo coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied about the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and instep. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

291 A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kəpam), shawl (ekull), stickpin (təpu), neck and breast ornament (ʃikill), headband (trarüloŋko), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a təpu. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the kəpam at the waistline. Back and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 60-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in kəpam and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kəpam until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy ticking then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately 2 yards square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When guanaco wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

301 The təpu was a stickpin with a large silver disk. The ʃikill had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with danglers, and ended in a cross. The trarüloŋko was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

291 Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine open-country styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made canvas

shoes are worn in summer and leather shoes in winter. (Pls. 60, 61, 66, 67, 70, 73.) Women's adornments today are earrings and finger rings. Children wear modern clothing like that of Argentine children (pls. 62, 63-66). In general they are barefoot when around home but wear shoes at school and when among non-Araucanians. 291

Clothes and other materials are washed today, as formerly, in rivers and creeks, that is, in flowing water, with crushed leaves of chacay as a detergent—an occasional family today uses soap. "During the time we lived in Chile," said an informant older than 100 years, "we used bark and wood of a tree—I have forgotten its name." 296

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING AND WEAVING

Formerly, guanaco wool was spun and woven into clothing and coverings of various types. Guanacos were not sheared; the wool was collected from those killed for food. The hide was prepared for the removal of wool by rolling it up tight, with the wool inside, and letting it lie for three days, after which the wool was easily plucked off by hand. (Informant indicated having the hide on the knee and pulling off handfuls of wool at a time.) Because the wool was so short, it was spun before it was washed, to prevent loss. Today wool shorn from sheep is used; it is washed and then spun. 283

The traditional spindle—still in use today—is a round piece of wood pointed at each end (pl. 78, *1,2*). In a notch made at the upper end the spinner fastens one end of the yarn with a slipknot. Near the lower end is a whorl made of clay. A spindle I saw in use was 23 inches long; its whorl was 2 inches in diameter. The owner carded wool by hand; she pulled it well apart and then shook it vigorously to remove foreign substances; any that remained she picked out by hand. This done, she prepared to spin. She pulled the wool into elongated wads, wound one loosely around her arm, and then fastened an end of it to the end of the yarn on the spindle by rolling it between her fingers. She now rested the spindle on the ground, letting it lean against her, twisted the wad of wool that extended between it and her arm, lifted the spindle, and gave it a twist in midair. This spun the yarn. Since she wanted very finely spun yarn, she twirled the spindle three times in midair. She then opened the slipknot at the notch and wound the yarn that she had just spun onto the spindle by again twirling the spindle in midair. Girls learn to spin "when old enough to be taught how to do it" (probably at 10 years of age). A woman older

283 than 100 years, whom I visited, spun fine yarn. Spinning may be done while sitting down, standing, or walking.

286 The traditional loom—still in use today—is a rectangular framework of poles, usually of rauli which does not easily split. (Pl. 78, *3*.) Poles are tied together, letting ends protrude, with leather ropes or thongs. Swords are usually made of wood of wild apple (manzana silvestre) or chiñchiñ, since neither splinters easily. Women do the weaving, but girls are taught to do so as soon as they are old enough to learn. The weaver sits with her loom slanting slightly away from her, and weaving is done upward. Both woof and warp are of the same material.

Articles woven today, for both family use and sale, are ponchos, belts, shawls, bed blankets, choapino (saddle blankets), matra (throws), saddlebags for carrying purposes, and makun (rugs). Matra and choapino are placed under saddles; they and makun are used to sit upon when resting on the ground or on low benches. Standard size for throws is 40 x 50 inches (pl. 79, *2*, *3*); for bed blankets, 63 x 82 (pls. 79, *1*, *4*; 80); for ponchos, the wearer for whom it is woven (pl. 78, *4*); saddlebags, 40 to 44 inches in length and 16 to 17 inches in width, with an opening for the saddle 9 by 12 to 11 by 14 inches (pl. 78, *5*).

286
531 Designs are sometimes woven into certain articles. No two designs are alike, but a similarity exists in patterns by which an experienced eye can tell that a woven article is Araucanian-made. "I saw the patterns my mother wove and remembered them. From them and others I saw I worked out my own. We carried the patterns in our mind. No woman would think of copying patterns. Every woman thinks out her own and then dyes her yarn accordingly."

In general, designs had no meaning. Two, however, were spoken of as "crawling-worms" design (pl. 79, *3*) and "tail-feathers-of-a-bird" pattern (pl. 79, *2*). These were considered ordinary ones, and women varied them only slightly. "We make these when we are tired; they take no thinking. Every woman knows them."

DYEING

286
386 Guanaco wool was not dyed but was bleached white for borders on shawls and stripes in ponchos. A white clay known as mallo was used; today this is used in bleaching yarn of sheep's wool. (It was used to make pottery too.) Yarn stored in it until it gives a peculiar sensation to the touch (this may be two months later) will be "whiter than white, a color known as liu." Once so bleached, yarn will take no

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other dye. To bleach yarn white, the length of strands needed, "like for a diamond-shaped design in a choapino," are measured off and each wound around a leaf or small stick and stored away in mallo. An 80-year-old woman had seen her mother-in-law bury yarn in a few handfuls of mallo that she had put into a corner of a hewn-out tree trunk. She had prepared two sticks of wood, "as thick as my finger," one about so long that she had called wentru (man), and the other so long, that she called domo (woman) (4 and 2½ inches, respectively). Around each stick she wound one layer of yarn, very tight and very close together. When the yarn was removed from the mallo, it was pure white. "It always remained white. My mother-in-law wanted it for a cross design in some weaving she was about to do." 286 386

TABLE 10.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Argentina)* [824]

Color	Plant	Remarks
Red (kelü)	Relvún (*Relbunium hypocarpium*) Yerba vinagrillo (*Oxalis acetosella*) Heart of roble (*Nothofagus obliqua*)	
Rose color (kallfu mora)	Roots of pimpinela (*Acaena ovalifolia*)	
Coffee color to dark brown (mulde kelu)	Bark of roble Bark of nogal (*Lomatia obliqua*) Boldo (*Peumus boldus*)	
Gray (kaʃü)	Nogal Robe (unidentified) Roots of nalca (*Gunnera scabra*)	"Nalca produces a delicate shade of gray."
Yellow (chaʃ)	Bark and roots of michai (*Berberis darwinii*) Romerillo (*Lomatia ferruginea*) Poquil (unidentified)	
Chestnut color, like that of guanaco wool (Fuen kal)	Bark of roble	
Black	Bark of nogal	"If boiled a very, very long time."

Sheep's wool is dyed after it has been made into yarn. It is boiled in water containing the substance in which the dye is found. Darker shades can be obtained by using more of the dye substance or by longer boiling with less of the substance, boiling being timed to the shade of the color desired. Informants had obtained dyes from barks and roots listed in table 10.

Formerly, no substances were known to dye blue, green, purple, or orange. In recent years, commercial aniline dyes have been used for these. Today, commercial dyes are used almost exclusively for all colors. A woman explained: "I always fear being arrested by the

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286 386 police for damaging trees if I take bark off of them or dig up roots that I would like to use in dyeing. Then, too, dyes bought in stores are not too expensive, and there is considerably less work using them."

Today, as formerly, plant dyes are set by being boiled in human urine. Alum is used in setting commercial dyes, except purple; but it will not set plant dyes. Purple is set with a sulfate.

BASKETRY

285 Baskets were made by both men and women. Those used for carrying or for sifting course material and for threshing wheat with the feet were made of split colihüe stalks or colihüe rind (pl. 74, *4*); those used for finer sifting were made of the vine of weliüwel (unidentified). Winnowing trays were made of vine also; only men made these. Baskets were woven; winnowing trays were coiled.

POTTERY

323 Making pottery was the work of women. "Formerly, every adult woman knew how; today, few desire to learn the art." Today cántaros, ollas, pipes, cups, plates, and pifalka are made for use at the gillatun, and only an occasional woman makes some pieces for kitchen use (pl. 73).

Pottery was made of clay mixed with sand and the sap of maqui as adhesives. It was either modeled from a single lump or made of coils.

The most commonly used clay was yellowish-red, known as raq; it was found in many places. White clay (mallo), a rare kind, was more coveted; it was found only in certain spots near creeks. Most pottery found in excavations today was made of white clay. A woman prepared white clay for pottery making by working it into powder with her hands and then pushing it through a kilko (sieve) until it was nearly as fine as dust, when she mixed it well with the juice of crushed leaves of maqui, "a very sticky juice, indeed." The least desirable clay for pottery was chaped (mud). Koiupan told of green earth that was also used formerly; it was fetched from "a far away place where we went to get it."

There were no standard sizes or shapes of pottery; nor were models followed, except certain animal patterns which seem institutional (cf. pl. 76, *1*). In general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. A glaze could be produced by smearing the surface with maqui juice before the pottery cooled after being fired. Sometimes clay was mixed with sand containing mica for "mica made the pottery look pretty." Polishing was done with a smooth stone before firing.

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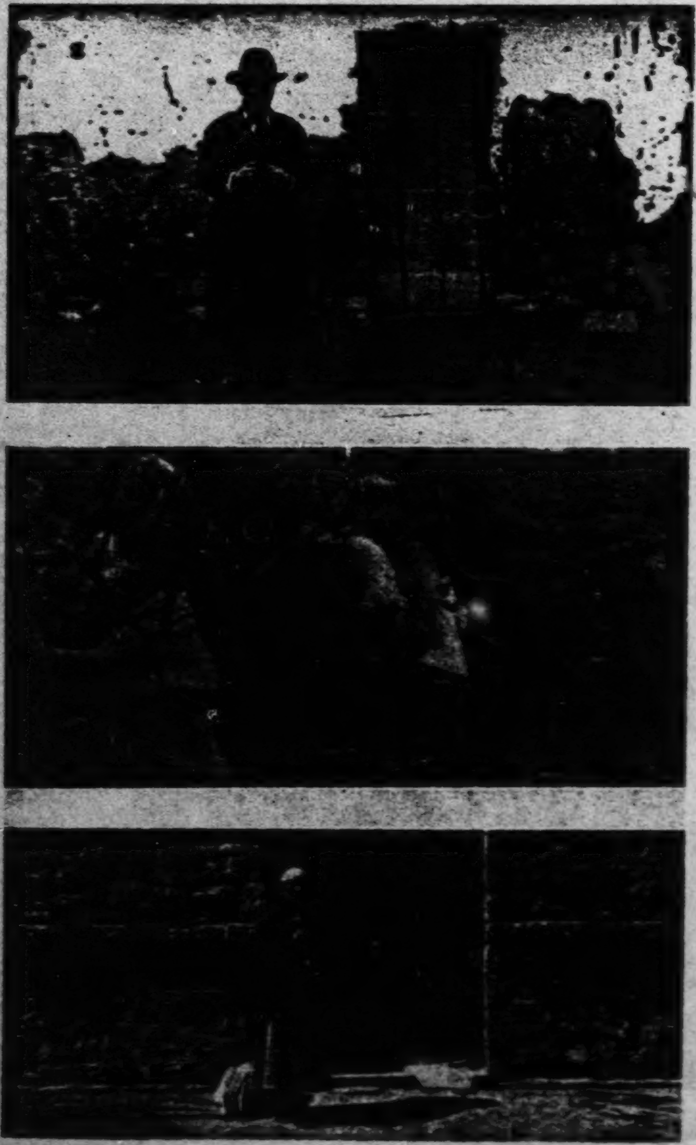

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Clothing: 1, The cacique of Malleo in clothing generally worn by Araucanian men. 2, Saddle used by both men and women; ponchos are worn by men as protection against winds. (Pilpil.) 3, Woman's clothing. This woman was about to enter the local store (behind her) to trade a sack of vegetables (at her feet) for sugar and flour. (Malleo.)

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Spinning and weaving: 1, and 2, A woman spinning into yarn the wool wound about her left arm (Malleo). 3, A woman weaving a blanket (Quilaquina). 4, Kolugam wearing a poncho found in the collection of Bertha Ilg-Koessler (San Martin de los Andes). 5, A woman saddling with two ponchos. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 380(B)]

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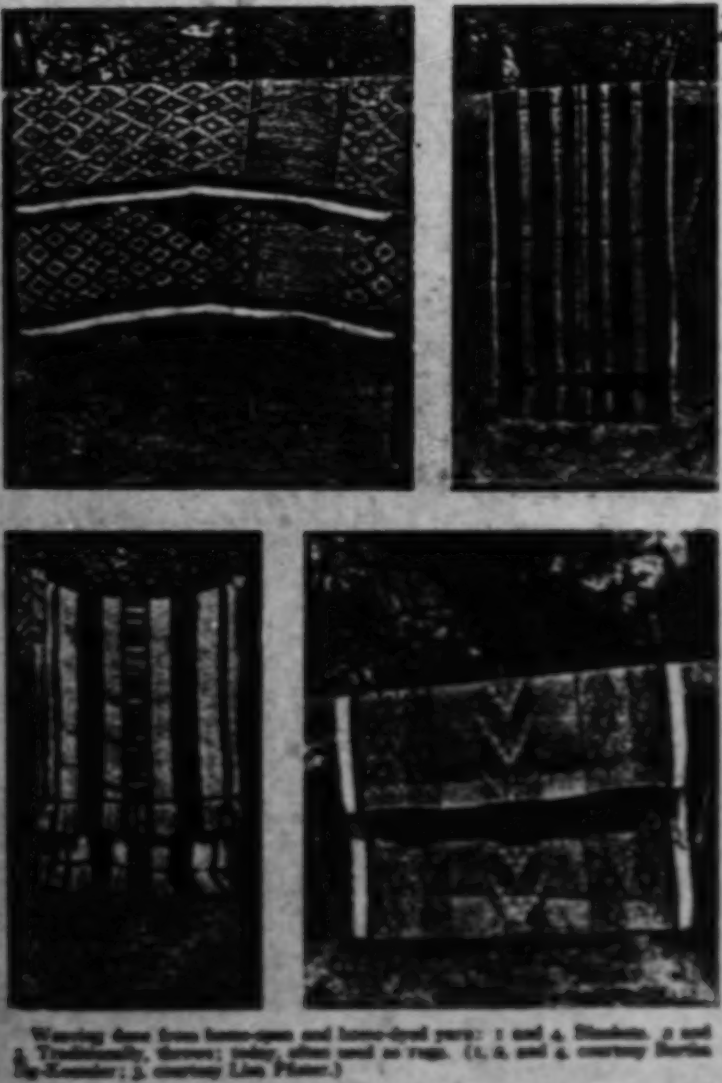

Weaving done from home-spun and home-dyed yarn: 1 and 4, Blankets; 2 and 3, Traditionally, throws; today, often used as rugs. (1, 2, and 4, courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler; 3, courtesy Lisa Pfister.)

[p.380(c)]

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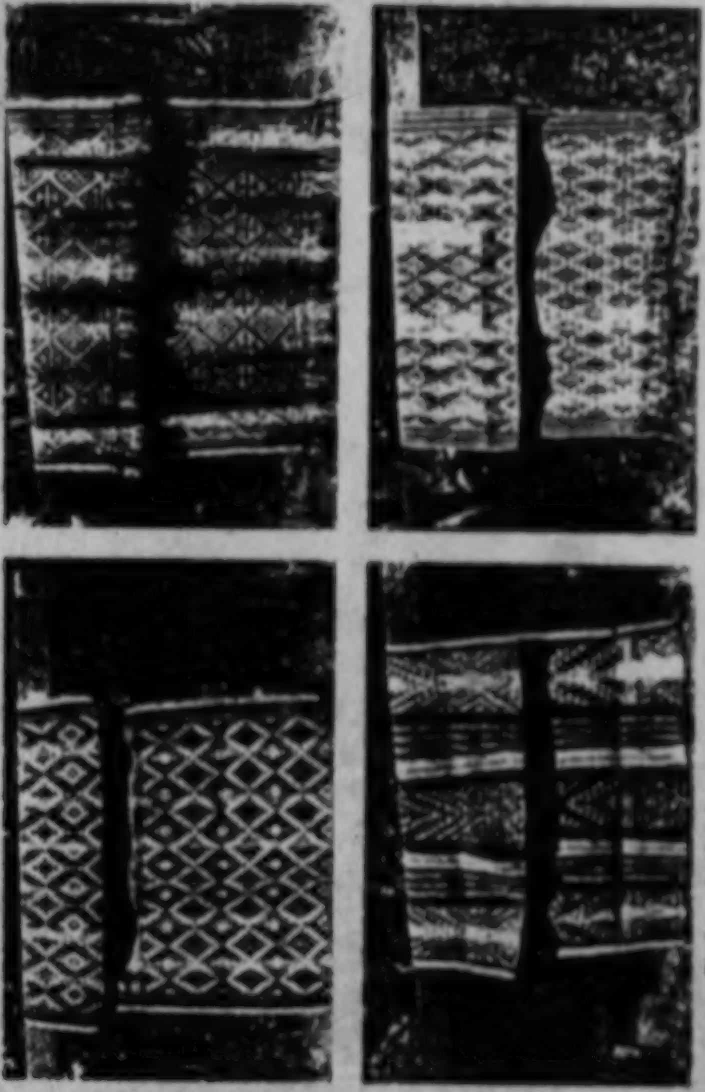

Blankets of old designs woven of home-spun and home-dyed yarn. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 380(D)]

Decorations, if any, were painted or incised designs of lines and dots. The curator of Museo Nahuel Huapi believed them due to Quechua influence. No informant had painted designs on pottery, nor did any informant remember seeing anyone else do so. None attached any meaning to the designs. Informants had heard old persons say, however, that painting was done before pottery was fired. Paint was made by cooking earth with specific plants and then working the mash thoroughly with the hands. Dark blue was obtained by cooking earth with stems of nanqui or michai; guanaco color, by cooking earth with bark of maitén. Black earth was used for black, "but we got it from the south; it is not found here." 323 [384]

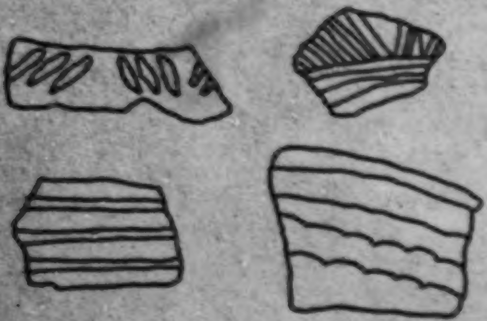

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FIG. 10.—Pottery designs. (Sketches made from potsherds the writer picked up at a grave disturbed by workmen digging a ditch near Collón Có.)

Potsherds of a dark color thrown out of a grave by workmen while digging a ditch near Collón Có in 1951 were decorated either with obliquely incised line designs, incised ridges, or elevated bands (fig. 10). One potsherd, painted white, is decorated with both horizontal and oblique brown lines.

SUMMARY

It is not clear whether the Araucanians in Argentina are indigenous or whether they migrated there from what is now Chile. In pre-Spanish days the Argentine Araucanians were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and were, to a small degree, interested in horticulture and agriculture. Today, having been dispossessed of their lands, they lease land for cultivation and grazing purposes. The Argentine Araucanians, along with the Chilean Araucanians, form the Araucanian linguistic family. 105

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105 *Prenatal factors.*—No cause of sterility was known; nor was a way of producing fertility known. There was no knowledge regarding contraceptive devices. Children were considered a blessing. In families of informants there were from 6 to 15 children. An occasional family had as many as 20 children.

Prenatal period.—Pregnancy was counted by moons; at the third moon the fetus was considered to be a person; at the ninth moon birth was expected. In all probability, sex preference was not institutional. There was no way of producing sex, but sex was predicted during pregnancy. There was no belief in reincarnation. The father of an unborn child is not hampered by either food or conduct taboos or prescriptions; his pregnant wife is.

Childbirth.—The house, that is the toldo, was the proper place for the birth of the child. In summer, on rare occasions, delivery took place in a shelter erected near the toldo. The unmarried mother delivered her child usually in an unfrequented place. There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother always assisted with the birth. In dire necessity, a man performed the services of midwifery in the delivery of his own child. The woman's husband and her father, and occasionally her children, were present at the delivery. The unmarried mother was alone except for a woman friend.

In general, women took no decoctions to facilitate birth, for deliveries were usually easy. In cases of prolonged labor, the woman was given a nauseating preparation or was encouraged to produce abdominal contraction by blowing. The woman kneels during delivery, clutching an upright pole or pulling a rope. Births today are recorded in conformity with Argentine law.

Both premature and stillbirths occurred, but both were very rare. A dead fetus was removed by the assisting woman. The navel is given no treatment. Formerly the navel cord was dried and either stored or given in powdered form to the child when sick; today, it is buried inside the house near the wall. If there is difficulty in ejecting the placenta, the woman either is given a specific decoction or is made to gag. The placenta is buried near the wall of the house, either inside or outside; in several instances in recent years it was discarded as refuse.

If a child was born with a caul—a rare occurrence—it was expected to grow up to be intelligent. The caul was dried and either stored in the house, or buried within or near it.

Mother's milk is used to sterilize the baby's eyes, generally; occasionally, today, aniline dye is used. Fontanels should close before the child begins to walk. Skull formation was not practiced, but face molding was.

Occasionally today, as formerly, the mother takes the child, following delivery, and bathes herself and it in the waters of a stream (it is believed that the child will benefit physically by the bath), but more often the baby is bathed in lukewarm water by the woman who assists at delivery.

Postnatal interests.—Noses were not pierced. Every child had its ears pierced, formerly, when it was given its name. Relatives were invited as guests on this occasion. There was no conventional ear piercer. Occasionally (for the benefit of the child, so it was believed) either grandmother, and sometimes others, at the ear-piercing feast pierced the skin on the back of her own hand, a performance known as katawe. Today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced.

To prevent or cure chafing the sap of specific plants was applied to the baby; grease was not used; today, commercial talcum powder is used. Diapers were either homewoven cloth, woven especially for the purpose or cut from worn-down material, or softened skin of guanaco or lamb untanned and closely clipped. A child able to speak is expected to tell its toilet needs.

The baby's first clothing was a wrap of guanaco or lamb skin if the diaper was cloth; or cloth, if the diaper was guanaco or lamb skin. A woven band was used in swaddling.

Generally the cradle was made by the father for the first child and kept in the family for subsequent children. The baby spent most of its waking hours swaddled and lashed to it, with the cradle in erect position resting against some object; at night, it slept with its mother out of its cradle. It was transported by its mother on horseback, in its cradleboard, with the cradle either resting in front of the mother or being tied securely to her back. A mother traveling on foot carried her baby in her arms. An older child was often transported on the back of an adult. A hammock for a small child was suspended indoors or outdoors. Both worded- and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies.

Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. Inflamed gums were washed with a decoction—today young mothers use vinegar. If a teething child ran a temperature, its gums were rubbed with unwashed wool of black sheep; young mothers today use commercial alum. No significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth. Both deciduous and second teeth were buried in the table when they came out.

The baby's first smile is noticed, but has no significance. Usually a child was not permitted to creep; when it reached the creeping stage, it was taught to stand. A mother uses several methods to teach it to walk. A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to give it freedom of movement. Neither creeping nor walking is celebrated as an event.

Nothing is done to bring about early speech development. The mother teaches the child to speak, beginning with words.

Nursing and weaning.—A mother nurses the child until it is about 2 years old, unless an unusual situation arises. The mother sustained her milk flow by eating much nourishing food; she ate no beef, however, because it was believed to make a nursing mother sick. No decoction was given to increase milk flow. A child was nursed on an indicated or demand schedule, but never when there was a snake about the place. A child old enough to hold something in its hands is given a piece of meat from which to suck the essence. It is given soups about this time also. As soon as it can swallow heavier foods, the mother masticates meat for it. When it has teeth, it is expected to eat foods eaten by adults.

A child is weaned either gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk or abruptly by placing it with relatives or neighbors for several days, and, upon its return to its mother, discouraging nursing by treating the nipples with a plant repellent. Fur repellent was not used. The postnursing milk must be poured into a brook, since this will give the mother the capacity to nurse other children that may yet be born to her.

Atypical conditions.—Twins, but no other multiple births, were known to have occurred; twins have been born in recent times. They may be both of the same sex, or one of each. There was no way of predicting them. According to most informants twins were not wanted, but never were they killed. Twins had no special way of talking.

No information on incest was collected. Illegitimacy was formerly a rare thing. The family of a girl who had an illegitimate child lost status in the community, and the cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the parents of the girl insisted. A child born to an unmarried girl was known as a "natural" child. It was reared in its mother's home, if born there (which rarely happened), or by its grandparents or other sympathetic adults.

Rarely was a child born deformed. Infanticide was not practiced. A child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, and is given either medicinal preparations used for children or diluted doses of those

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taken by adults. A ceremonial known as machitun was formerly performed over critically ill persons, including children. A sympathetic adult may perform the katawe on himself, if a child is injured. No person was known to be color blind or to stutter; left-handed men and women existed. 105

There was no formal adoption of children, but an orphan or a child from a broken home was reared by relatives. An adult who spoke of small children, especially of babies, could expect one to be brought to him to be reared. Captives were taken and reared by both Araucanians and Argentines in time of war.

Names.—A name, usually that of a deceased relative, was given the child on the occasion of the piercing of its ears. The name was selected by either or both parents. If the father did not announce the child's name to those present, one of the grandmothers did so. No prayers were said, nor was there a ceremony. The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants; some names lent themselves to translation, others did not. Feminine names differed from masculine ones. A woman's given name was generally not used when speaking of her. Until recent years there were no surnames. Adults, both men and women, but not children, were given nicknames.

The family.—A family had status in the community if it conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence. The man dominated the family, but his wife or wives, in case of multiple wives, and the children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. Peace usually reigned in the family if there was no resistance to the man's authority. In the event of a disagreement, the wife usually gave in.

Parents love their children, provide for them, teach and train them, and assist their sons in the choice of a mate. Children respect their parents and provide for them when necessary. Among themselves, children, in general, are agreeable.

Children's behavior.—A girl's hair is not cut; a boy's is. Children have keen sight and hearing. They are courteous to each other and to strangers, and most respectful to older persons, having been taught to be so by parents. They are also taught to be helpful; not to be boastful or jealous; not to quarrel—persistent quarrelers are punished, usually whipped. Tale bearers are listened to, but ignored if the matter is of no importance. Obedience is demanded by parents of all children, formerly even after they became adults and married. If a child persists in disobeying after having been whipped, his blood is let, the belief being that his blood is bad.

105 Children rarely lie; they were and are taught not to. If a child steals, it is made to return the stolen thing. A boy's personality was predicted from his conduct while he was under the influence of an intoxicating beverage. With the express permission of the father, men in their twenties drank to intoxication. Chums were not institutional; lifelong friendships occasionally existed. No sex instructions were given, but in rare instances a girl was told the purpose of menstruation. At first menses, but not at any subsequent ones, the girl was isolated in a corner of the toldo. There was no puberty rite for boys. Two institutional performances were, however, sometimes transacted when a boy's voice had changed, namely a personality prediction test and one known as katan kawiñ—one similar to the katawe.

Adult behavior.—A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, and facial hair are not desired; both are removed. Bathing is done daily by many; hair is washed whenever a bath is taken. Formerly, personal adornments of both men and women were silver bracelets, earrings, necklaces, rings, and studding on belts. Women also used silver stickpins and hair ornaments; men often decorated with silver their saddles, stirrups, bridles, and the handles of long knives.

Modesty in women was highly esteemed; it was taught to girls. Courtesy, helpfulness, and hospitality were also taught and were met with everywhere during the present study, especially where old persons dominated the situation. Pride, especially pride in one's intelligence, is one of the predominating characteristics. Feeblemindedness is exceedingly rare. Anger is seldom displayed, but once aroused it is vociferous. There was very little quarreling, probably because of early training.

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death by poisoning as revenge was more frequent. Death as a penalty was institutional. Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. Suicides occur occasionally, usually due to sadness. A woman commits suicide by hanging herself; a man, by cutting his throat or stabbing his abdomen and, in more recent years, by using a revolver.

The word of an adult can generally be relied upon. Seldom was anything stolen in the early days; in cases of theft the cacique ordered that the stolen article be returned. Today, there is seldom anything stolen from an Araucanian; but sheep are occasionally stolen from non-Araucanians. Drinking to intoxication, formerly, was a communal affair; today individuals drink to excess whenever sufficient chicha or wine can be obtained.

Teaching the child.—Parents were the primary instructors of the child. Methods used were those of direct verbal instruction, observation and participation, and sharing responsibilities. Today children attend local rural or village state schools.

In general, small children grew up without much interference by adults. Customarily a child was not rewarded for work well done; usually the adult interested the child in what it was expected to do. Compulsions consisted in talking to the child in a serious manner, scolding it, and, if necessary, switching it.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one of the parents is non-Araucanian. School-age children and all adults, except very old persons, speak Spanish, also. Informants told of methods used by their Spanish conquerors to teach them the Spanish language. Dialectic differences were pointed out; so were words incorporated from the Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní languages. There was no written language in the early days. Pictographs found on rocks in the areas are ascribed to unknown peoples. Oratory, a highly esteemed ability, was formally taught.

Children count on fingers, and on toes if a greater number than 10 is being counted. Numerals range from 1 to 1,000; there is no zero.

Time of day is told rather accurately by the lengthening of shadows; on sunless days time is merely guessed. The divisions of the day are based on the position of the sun, and are so named. Days were not named, nor were they grouped into weeks. When necessary, days were counted, as each one passed, by tying a knot in a cord or thong. One's age was associated with events of general interest. Seasons had names.

Weather forecasts were possible for only particular local areas because of land contours and altitudes, except for such general forecasts as that a very red moon indicated hot weather; black clouds, rain.

An eclipse of the moon or sun predicted disaster. The morning and the evening stars and several constellations were identified by names.

Signaling was done by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and by the sounds of the trutruka at all times.

Linear measurements were parts of a finger, hand stretches, arm stretches, and distances between hands. Lengths were often noted by knots made in a strand of yarn, which served as a measuring tape. Measurements on the ground were stepped off. Today, a meter is also used for linear measurements. Clothes were fitted to the person for whom they were intended.

Quantity measurements were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls.

Diversions.—Visiting was, and still is, a popular pastime. Generally conversation during visiting is about current topics of interest, but legends and stories are also told. Children are always listeners-in; sometimes legends are told for their benefit. During visits older men usually smoked a mixture of plant substances in pottery pipes. Today a cigarette is usually passed from person to person.

Formalized conversation was carried on when a woman's immediate family paid its first visit to her after her marriage; at the time of her marriage she moved to her husband's toldo.

Musical instruments were a drum, a wind instrument, two types of whistles, a tune pipe, rattles, and an instrument made of the lower jaw of a horse. There were no traditional recreational dances; today, modern dances of the Argentines are participated in.

A game of chance was played by men, and by boys among themselves. A competitive game, known as chueca, is still played by opposing teams from different areas.

Small children played with sticks, stones, or insects, and when a little older, with tops and other things that they themselves could make or find about the place. Dolls were not part of a girl's play life. Domesticated animals were not pets, but a young orphaned guanaco or rhea was raised and became one. Today, an occasional child has a kitten or cat, a dog, or a chicken as a pet.

All children learned to swim; today, mostly boys do so. Formerly, all children rode horseback, and many do today.

Health.—Certain measures taken when children were young, it was believed, would insure good health and result in long life. If ill health occurred in either children or adults it was ascribed to sorcery. It was believed that sorcerers had either put poison into one's food or had inflicted harm in a mysterious way from a distance. Antidotes known to others or to the sorcerer had to be applied in the early stages of sickness if a cure was to be effected. Often it was jealousy that prompted use of sorcery to cause sickness. Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. If it occurred, it, too, was blamed on sorcery. The inflicting sorcerer knew the antidote.

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists, and also by machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers or only sorcerers. Machi and herbalists were of both sexes. The machi exercised their curative powers during a performance known as machitun.

Herbalists, as specialists, are practically nonexistent today; but plants and other things used as household remedies are known to many, even to children. The human anatomy is not well known.

Marriage.—Formerly, a cacique had three or more wives; commoners not infrequently had two. Simultaneous wives were seldom sisters. Each wife with her children lived either in a section of one large toldo, or in a separate toldo, or in one of several attached toldos.

Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. Preferential marriages were those between persons of the same jurisdiction. All other marriages were tolerated, but not favored. Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate. In the early days men were usually in their thirties when they married; women, past 25; men sometimes married a last time when about 80 years of age.

Traditionally, the proper way to arrange a marriage was for the man to tell his parents of his wish to marry a certain girl and for his parents then to speak to the girl's parents about it—the girl's wishes were seldom consulted. The girl's parents talked it over, but it was her father that gave consent and set the bride price. In more recent times, the man himself has obtained the consent of the girl's parents. Today, often the man asks the girl directly, and then together they ask the consent of the girl's parents. Child betrothal occurred, but whether or not it was institutional was not ascertained. Elopement was never considered proper form.

Objects used as love charms were not known, but sorcery was exercised to obtain love. In recent years, young girls have sought to learn the kind of husband that might be theirs through the interpretation of ink or soot blotches. The families of both sides participated in the marriage ceremonial.

Desertions were, and still are, very rare. In cases of infidelity, formerly, the paramour of an unfaithful wife, especially of a cacique's wife, was usually killed.

A formalized welcome was given the relatives of a woman on their first visit to her after her marriage, as already stated. Mother-in-law-son-in-law taboos were institutional, but not so father-in-law-daughter-in-law or mother-in-law-daughter-in-law taboos. No evidence was found that joking relationships were institutional.

Religion.—The belief in God as creator and the belief in God as one interested in the welfare of the people both exist. God is addressed as "father of all" during the tribal ceremonial, the gillatun. There are no minor deities. A woman said to be with God is not a deity, informants insisted; nor are stones resembling figurines, to which something akin to veneration is shown. Private prayers were said to avert harm and to obtain favors. During thunderstorms they were, and are, accompanied with a small offering of anything edible. In one place, a special dance was performed to avert floods. No informants claimed personal supernatural powers, or knew of anyone who did so except sorcerers.

105 The tribal religious ceremonial is a 2-day public community prayer, accompanied by sacrifice, offered as a petition for the welfare of all the people and as a thanksgiving for blessings received. The cacique is the officiating officer. Generally the ceremonial is held following seeding time and at harvest time. Prayers are directed to God as the father of all and to the woman in heaven as the mother of all. Sacred dances are performed to the rhythm of a drum.

Sorcerers were of both sexes. They are sometimes hired by jealous persons to perform their black art. There is a belief in hobgoblins and visions.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Death is omened. Sorcery is believed to be its cause, unless it is known that violence, accident, or secret poisoning has caused it. Relatives attend a death, and remain until after the burial. Burials may have been in caves; it is known that they have been in cemeteries for generations past. Bodies found in excavated graves are in supine position. All early burials face the rising sun. Personal belongings, including a man's horse, were buried with the individual; *but food was not brought to the place of burial* after interment. Grave markers—figurines cut out of wood—can still be seen in several cemeteries. There is a belief in life after death.

There were no exterior signs of mourning, but bereaved families often moved to another locality and remained there for some time.

Government.—The government was under the control of the cacique. His jurisdiction comprised a lofche, that is, 20 to 60 families who recognized him as their cacique, and who, when spoken of, were designated by his name. In the exercise of his powers he could rely on the assistance of two men and on the advice of all men of his lofche who had considerable ownership, whenever he called them together. No evidence of clans or gens was found.

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a specific area of land. Within the area each family owned land, but it was within the cacique's power to redistribute the land. However, he had no power over the animals owned or grazed upon the land. Other important duties of the cacique were to set the time for the tribal religious ceremonial and to lead its performance, to lead his men in time of war, to enforce law and maintain order, and to punish violators.

Upon the death of a cacique his eldest son inherited the position, unless he was not considered fit, in which case, or in case the cacique had no sons, the men of the lofche elected a qualified man. Formerly, no woman was a cacique; today, one woman is so recognized. The cacique had no emblem when exercising his authority; he could be distinguished at all times by a distinctive earring worn by him. Arau-

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canians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizens; hence, the powers of the cacique are very weak and are greatly limited.

Land, subsistence, and trade.—To a degree, it is correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed. Grazing grounds, however, were owned in common. There is no security in land tenure, today; and grazing lands are leased. Wealth in the early days consisted of sheep and cattle, and more recently these and horses. Today, ownership of 4-footed animals is restricted by the Argentine Government.

Wheat and corn have always been cultivated. Plowing was, and is, done with a wooden plow drawn by oxen; seed is scattered by hand. Every family today has a vegetable garden; many have fruit trees. Horticulture probably began with the introduction of apple trees; groves of wild apple trees can be seen in many parts.

Domesticated animals, since post-Columbian days, have been cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and in more recent days, turkeys and geese, also. Animals were not branded formerly; every owner knew his own.

Old informants recalled the days when trade extended as far as Buenos Aires in the east and Valdivia in the west; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north. Most frequently trade was by barter. Cattle sold in Chile, however, were paid for in silver. Although Argentine currency is used today, trade is still often by barter.

Transporting both persons and luggage by horses already existed when old informants were children. Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by old informants. Snowshoes were used when snow was deep; ojotas, when the snow was less deep. Lakes and streams were crossed in dugouts, formerly; today, flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamers are used. Land, today, is traversed on foot, on horse, and in oxcarts.

Chief among wild animals hunted were the guanaco, puma, rhea, wild boar, Patagonian hare, huemul, Patagonian deer, and the armadillo. Wildfowl, too, were hunted. Hunting was done with traps, snares, sticks, boleadoras, bola perdida, lassos, and spears; bows and arrows were not known to have been used. Dogs were used to chase the hunted to exhaustion. Hunting is practically nonexistent today.

Fish were speared by men and were also trapped in containers by

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105 men and women in close formation. A bivalve shellfish was collected by women and children.

Food, shelter, clothing.—In the early days, the meat of wild animals was the chief food; it has been replaced by mutton, lamb, beef, and pork. A variety of dishes is prepared from meats. As formerly, fish today are eaten fresh and dried. Eggs of rhea, waterfowl, and chickens are also eaten. Whole grain and grain ground to flour are prepared in various ways. Vegetables consist of wild roots and plants, and of cultivated ones, chief among them the potato. Fermented potatoes were a favorite dish. Other foods eaten were the araucaria nut and wild apples.

Among implements used in the preparation and serving of food, in the early days—all of which are still used to some extent today—were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates, bowls, cups, knives, pichañas (apple scoopers), spoons, lupe (pottery for toasting wheat), baskets, and winnowing trays. To these were added in recent years factory-made implements and improvised ones.

In the early days, cooking was done in a shallow-pit fireplace, and is so done in the open today; today, second-hand cooking stoves are in general use. Most desirable firewoods were ñire and chacay; these gave off much heat and little smoke. Fire was formerly started both by rubbing or by striking two objects, accompanied by the singing of an appropriate song.

Several meals were eaten every day, hunger indicating the time for each. Women cooked the meals. All persons present squatted in circular fashion around the olla or wooden dish containing the food, and each served himself.

An uncontaminated spring supplied drinking water. One beverage was mudai made of fermented wild or cultivated grain or araucaria nuts; and another, a refreshing decoction made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Pülku, an alcoholic drink, was made from berries of mulwiṇ (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and from wild apples. Today, yerba maté, an imported non-Araucanian herb, is the favorite drink.

The early dwelling was the toldo, a collapsible, transferable tent of hides. Informants called it ruka (the Araucanian word for dwelling) or trakle ruka (meaning ruka of hides). An occasional family lived under a rock shelter, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed one or more walls. During the season of favorable weather, families sometimes lived in the shade of large trees.

The building of a toldo was a community affair in which both men and women participated. At its completion, a plentiful meal, including

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mudai, was served. Toldos were either shaped like an inverted V or were 4-walled, not unlike a lean-to in shape. Both consisted of a framework covered with tanned hides of guanaco, horse, or cattle. Women tanned the hides. Women, too, sometimes painted the inside of the toldo with white or red earth mixed with grease of rhea. Today, in general, dwellings are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses. They may consist of a framework of poles overlaid with thatch or straw or overlapping boards or shingles, or they may be of logs or slats of wood with bark; or they may be made of the leafy ends of colihüe stalks, with the spaces in between filled with adobe or covered with pieces of tin. 105

House furnishings are very meager. Sleeping is usually done on blankets or pelts on the floor; the floor, in general, is the ground. Food is stored in the home dwelling; other things, in an attached or separate shed.

In the early days, clothing was woven of guanaco wool. The man's traditional clothing consisted of a chiripa (pants) and a poncho. In general men were barefoot; ojotas were worn by some. A woman's complete outfit consisted of a kupam (dress), an ukull (shawl) secured with a tupu (stickpin), a headband, silver neck and breast ornaments, and earrings. Women were barefoot. Boys' and girls' clothing followed the pattern of adults. Today, everyone wears factory-made clothes like those worn by Argentines.

Clothing was, and is, washed in rivers or creeks; crushed leaves of chacay are used as a detergent.

Domestic handicrafts.—Formerly, guanaco wool was spun and woven into clothing and into household and saddle equipment. Today, sheep's wool is used for any weaving done. The traditional spindle is still in use, and spinning is done by women in the traditional way, either while sitting down, standing, or walking. Girls old enough to learn are taught to spin.

Women do the weaving, also, and teach their daughters as soon as they are old enough to learn to do so. The loom is a rectangular framework of poles, and the weaving is done upward.

Articles woven today for family use or for sale are ponchos, bed blankets, saddle blankets and saddle bags, throws, and rugs. Occasionally designs are woven into articles; in general, designs have no meaning.

Guanaco wool was not dyed, but was bleached white when it was desired for borders on shawls; white clay was used in bleaching it. Sheep's wool is dyed after being spun into yarn by being boiled either in a decoction which contains the dye substance of barks and roots, 105 or in one made with commercial aniline dyes. Plant dyes are set by boiling the article in human urine; commercial dyes, except purple, by boiling them in a solution of alum; purple, by boiling in a sulfate solution.

Baskets were woven by both men and women; winnowing trays were coiled by men. Baskets were used in carrying, in sieving, and occasionally for threshing wheat with the feet.

Women modeled pottery by the old method from either lumps or coils of clay. Generally, yellowish-red or white clay was used, mixed with sap of maqui and sand as adhesives. Today, pottery is seldom made for household use. Ollas and cántaros, pipes, cups, plates, and whistles are occasionally made for use at the gillatun. There were no standard sizes or shapes for pottery, and in general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. If a glaze was desired, the surface was smeared with sap of maqui after firing. Polishing and the application of painted or incised decorative designs, if used, were done before firing. Designs were meaningless dots and lines. Paints were made of earth cooked with specific plants, except black which consisted of earth alone.

APPENDIX A. PHONETIC KEY TO THE ARAUCANIAN LANGUAGE

The equivalents listed below will indicate rough approximations to the Araucanian sounds. They are based on transcriptions made by Félix José de Augusta for his Diccionario (vol. 1, p. xiv, 1916) and his Lecturas Araucanas (2d ed., pp. v and vi, 1934), and on observations made by the writer while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile during the field work of the present study. 104

a as in car
ch as in church
d a sound between d in day and th in thing
e like a in may
f like v in evening
i as in lever
ʃ like j in French je
k as in kitten
l as in lay
ll as in million
m as in man
n as in not
ŋ like ng in German Zunge
ñ as in cañon
o as in order
p as in pan
r as in Spanish pero
s as in such
t as in tongue
tr like ch said with force
u like oo in cool
w like oo in food
y as in yet
ḷ, n', and t' pronounced with tip of tongue between teeth nearly closed (Félix José used a dot in place of an apostrophe)
ü pronounced like the German ü but with much force and from the throat as if gargling without water
ö pronounced in the same manner as ü but with less force

APPENDIX B. PLANTS USED BY THE ARAUCANIANS

824 Names of plants are here recorded in Spanish, followed by the Araucanian names in parentheses. Scientific names are from Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano, 2 vols., 1916; La Salud por Medio de las Plantas Medicinales, 1939; and Enrique Amandus Campos' and Roman A. Perez Moreau's Flora Argentina, Zona de Nahuel Huapi y Lanín, 1944. Dashes (——) indicate that the name could not be obtained.

I do not know whether all plants listed below are indigenous to both Chilean and Argentine Patagonia. Plants recorded in field notes taken among both Chilean and Argentine groups are preceded by an asterisk (*); those recorded as being used by the Argentine Araucanians but not found in the field notes taken among the Chilean groups are preceded by two asterisks (**); those without an asterisk were being used by Chilean Araucanians, but I do not know whether they were ever used by the Argentine Araucanians. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 687-760, for additional plants used by Araucanians.)

**abrojo or cardo de la sierra ([illegible]) (*Sonchus asper*)
**achicoria (——) (*Taraxacum officinale*)
**ajenjo (——) (*Artemisia absinthium*)
*ají or chili (trapi) (*Capsicum annuum*)
**ajo ([illegible]) (*Allium sativum*)
álamo (——) (*Populus nigra*)
albaquilla or culén (culen) (*Psoralea glandulosa*)
*alerce (lahuan) (*Libocedrus tetragona*)
**algarrobo (——) (——)
**alverjana ([illegible]) (*Vicia nigricans*)
**amancay or liuto (amancai) (*Alstroemeria aurantiaca*)
**amorseco or cadillo or pimpinela ([illegible]) (*Acaena ovalifolia subsp. australis*)
**apio (panul or [illegible]) (*Apium*)
*araucaria (pewen or pehuén) (*Araucaria araucana* or *Dombeya chilensis*)
*arrayán (kollümamüll) (*Myrtus communis*)
avellanillo (piñol) (*Lomatia dentata*)
avellano (gefü) (*Guevina avellana*)
**berro or [illegible] ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Nasturtium officinale*)
*boldo (folo) (*Peumus boldus*)

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**brochela or cruchilla or grochela (——) (——)
**cadillo (cf. amorseco)
calle calle (kallekalle) (*Libertia ixioides* or *Libertia coerulescens*)
canelo (foiqe or foye) (*Drimys winteri*)
**cardo de la sierra (cf. abrojo)
*carrizal (piliaroral) (——)
centella (lamürka) (*Ranunculus minutiflorus*)
**chacay (chakai or tamen wayun or kurü wayen) (*Discaria trinervis* or *Discaria serratifolia*)
(——) (chakaiwa) (*Berberis darwinii*)
**chamico or estramonio (miaya) (*Datura stramonium*)
(——) (chañchañ) (*Scirpus setaceus*)
chaura (chaura or charwa) (*Gaultheria myrtilloides*)
**(——) (chichai) (——)
*chili (cf. ají)
(——) (chillim) (*Nertera depressa*)
**chilchill (——) (*Azara microphylla*)
**chirivia (cf. apio)
(——) (chukiñri) (*Baccharis racemosa*)
chupón (kai) (*Greigia sphacelata*)
cicuta mayor (pinaka) (*Conium maculatum*)
**cilantro or coriander (——) (*Coriandrum sativum*)
**cilantro del campo (——) (——)
ciprés (——) (*Libocedrus chilensis*)
*ciruelillo or notro or treumún (notru) (*Embothrium coccineum*)
**cizaña (kancha kawn) (*Centaurea melitensis*)
cochayuyo (kollof) (*Durvillea utilis*)
*coihüe (koiwe) (*Nothofagus dombeyi*)
**coirón (pakiiya) (——)
*cola de caballo or limpia plata (pochonpochon) (*Equisetum bogotense*)
*colihüe (rapi or rüni) (*Chusquea culeou*)
copihue (kolkopiu) (*Lapageria rosea*)
coral or esparto or pelü or quilinaja (panqueñ or pelu) (*Luzuriaga radicans*)
*corecore (korekore) (*Geranium corecore*)
**coriander (cf. cilantro)
**cruchilla (cf. brochela)
culantrillo (kuñüll'wen) (*Adiantum chilense*)
culén (cf. albaquilla)
esparto (cf. coral)

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**espino blanco (rupu wayun) (*Rhaphithamnus cyanocarpus*)
**estramonio (cf. chamico)
(——) (fekfeken) (——)
(——) (fillpuañ) (——)
**(——) (fol'el or fül'el) (*Solidago microglossa*)
frejol (degüll) (*Phaseolus vulgaris*)
*frutilla (kelleghen or llahuen) (*Fragaria chilensis*)
*fucsia (chilko) (*Fuchsia macrostemma*)
(——) (fül'el) (cf. fol'el)
**grachela (cf. brochela)
helecho grande (alipe) (*Alsophila pruinata*)
**hinojo (hinojo) (*Foeniculum vulgare*)
huahuan (wawan) (*Laurelia serrata*)
huella (——) (*Abutilon vitifolium*)
huique (deu) (*Coriaria ruscifolia*)
**junco (——) (*Scirpus californicus*)
**junquillo (rume or trome) (*Juncus procerus*)
(——) (kanchan lawen) (——)
(——) (karül'awen) (*Gratiola peruviana*)
(——) (kegi) (*Panicularia bicolor*)
(——) (kodonkiñu) (——)
**(——) (kinwe) (——)
(——) (koifül) (——)
**(——) (kowell foki or ñilpu foki) (*Lardizabala biternata*)
**(——) (kudul foki) (*Cissus striata*)
(——) (kurakuli or kuralo) (*Pseudopanax valdiviensis*)
(——) (lanko kachu) (*Bromus unioloides*)
laurel común (triwe) (*Laurus nobilis* or *Laurelia aromatica*)
(——) (lawü) (*Sisyrinchium* sp.)
**lechuguilla or retamilla (lawiña lawen) (*Gnaphalium purpureum*)
(——) (lelfünken) (——)
*limpia plata (cf. cola de caballo)
linaza (linu or liñu) (*Linum* sp.)
lingue (lige) (*Persea lingue*)
liuto (chuño) (*Alstroemeria ligtu*)
**(——) (llawüñ) (*Calandrinia axilliflora*)
**llantén or siete venas (plantu or pillolawen) (*Plantago major*)
**lirio (cf. amancay)
(——) (llümillüm) (——)
luche (luche) (*Ulva lactuca*)
luma (luma) (*Myrtus luma*)

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**maitén (maiten) (*Maytenus boaria*)
malva del monte (delahuen) (*Hydrocotyle poeppigii*)
mango (mangu or magu) (*Bromus mango*)
**(———) (mañiu) (*Podocarpus chilena*)
**(———) ([illegible]) (——)
**manzano silvestre ([illegible] manzana) (*Pyrus malus*)
*maqui (kol'on) (*Aristotelia maqui*)
marilefo or palqui or parqui ([illegible]) (*Cestrum parqui*)
**(———) (mapuche poñü or ñagki) (*Dioscorea auriculata*)
(———) ([illegible]) (———)
*michai (maichai) (*Berberis darwinii or Berberis vulgaris*)
(———) ([illegible]) (*Myrceugenia planipes*)
**(———) ([illegible]) (———)
(———) ([illegible]) (*Eryngium pseudojunceum or Juncus dombeyanus var. densa*)
*nalca (pañke or pangke) (*Gunnera scabra or Gunnera chilensis*)
**(———) (ñagki) (cf. mapuche poñü)
**(———) ([illegible]) (———) "plant with turniplike root"
natri (natrü) (*Solanum gayanum*)
**(———) (neneo) (*Mulinum spinosum*)
(———) ([illegible]) (*Alstroemeria ligtu*)
**ñire (ñire) (*Nothofagus antarctica*)
(———) (ñocha) (*Greigia landbeckii*)
*[illegible] ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Lomatia obliqua*)
notro (cf. ciruelillo)
(———) ([illegible]) (*Osmorhiza berteri*)
(———) ([illegible]) (*Vicia valdiviana*)
**(———) ([illegible]) (cf. [illegible])
(———) ([illegible]) (*Anagallis alternifolia*)
olivillo or palo muerto or tique (tüke) (*Aextoxicon punctatum*)
orégano (orégano) (*Origanum vulgare*)
*ortiga menor ([illegible]) (*Urtica urens*)
*paico (paiko) (*Chenopodium ambrosioides or Herniaria payco*)
(———) ([illegible]) (*Marchantia polymorpha*)
**(———) ([illegible]) (———)
palo muerto (cf. olivillo)
palo negro ([illegible] or [illegible] or [illegible]) (*Leptocarpha rivularis*)
**palo santo ([illegible]) (*Flotovia diacanthoides*)
palqui (cf. marilefo)
*pañil ([illegible]) (*Buddleia globosa*)
*papa (poñi or poñü) (*Solanum tuberosum*)

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826 **paramela (——) (*Adesmia boronioides*)
parqui (cf. [illegible])
*parra silvestre or parrilla ([illegible]) (*Ribes glandulosum*)
*parrilla (cf. parra silvestre)
**pasto de tres cantos ([illegible]) (*Baccharis sagittalis*)
*patagua or petra ([illegible] or pitra) (*Myrceugenia planipes* or *Myrceugenella pitra*)
(——) (paulun) (*Hydrangea integerrima*)
pelú (cf. coral)
*petra (cf. patagua)
(——) ([illegible]) (*Campsidium chilense*)
**(——) ([illegible]) (——) "grows in swamps"
pilopilo (pulupulu) (*Daphne pillopillo*)
**(——) (pilun dewü) (*Viola maculata*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
piñol ([illegible]) (*Lomatia dentata*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
**poleo ([illegible]) (——) "a species of mint"
**polipodio ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Polypodium trilobum*)
**[illegible] (——) (——)
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
(——) [illegible]) (*Azara lanceolata*)
(——) ([illegible]) (*Boquila trifoliata*)
**(——) ([illegible]) (——)
**quebracho (——) (*Aspidosperma quebracho*)
quila ([illegible]) ([illegible])
[illegible] (cf. coral)
*quillay (kullai or küllai) (*Quillaja saponaria*)
quilmay (kilmai) (*Elytropus chilensis*)
quilquil (kilkil or külkül) (*Lomaria chilensis*)
**[illegible] (——) (——)
*quinoa (dawe or [illegible]) (*Chenopodium quinoa*)
*radal (radal or raral) (*Lomatia obliqua*)
ratonera ([illegible]) (*Hierochloe utriculata*)
*raulí (rauli) (*Nothofagus procera*)
[illegible] ([illegible]) ([illegible])
**relvún (relfün) (*Relbunium hypocarpium*)
**romerillo (cf. [illegible])
roble chileno or roble pellín (koyam or walle or pellin) (*Nothofagus obliqua*)
[illegible] (——) (——)

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romaza (pillawell) (*Rumex romassa*)
*romerillo (kräkou) (*Lomatia ferruginea*)
(——) (rüml) (*Oxalis lobata*)
(——) (rüna) (——)
(——) (rulul) (*Escallonia pulverulenta*)
sanguinaria (——) (*Polygonum sanguinaria*)
saúco del diablo (traruwaawall) (*Pseudopanax laetevirens*)
**siete venas (cf. llantén)
silvestre salvia (llyllin) (*Sphacele campanulata*)
*soya (——) (*Glycine max*)
(——) (tenu) (*Trevoa divaricatum*)
tiaca (kiaka) (*Caldcluvia paniculata*)
tímo (madewe) (——)
tique (cf. olivillo)
tomillo (chaiwa) (*Thymus vulgaris*)
*toronjil or trompillo (——) (*Marrubium vulgare*)
*totora (trome) (*Cyperus vegetus*)
(——) (trafirulal) (*Cassia stipulacea*)
**trepadora (reno lawen) (*Tropaeolum speciosum*)
**[illegible] (cf. cicutilla)
triaca (——) (*Argylia huidobriana*)
trompillo (cf. toronjil)
ulmo (ngülgu) (*Eucryphia cordifolia*)
voqui colorado (palo [illegible]) (*Muehlenbeckia tamnifolia*)
(——) (wautru) (*Baccharis concava*)
***(——) (wilikowel) (——) "a vine used in basketry"
(——) (wilu or wenlu rulul) (*Solanum valdiviense*)
(——) (wilupeu) (——)
(——) (wilki lawen) (*Carex decidua or Carex antucensis*)
(——) (wailaun) (*Gleichenia litoralis or Gleichenia pedalis*)
(——) (wilulülawen) (——)
yerba buena (——) (——) peppermint
yerba del chavalongo (——) (*Solanum crispum*)
*yerba mate (——) (*Ilex paraguariensis*)
*yerba vinagrillo (kullo) (*Oxalis acetosella*)
yuyo (pohul) (*Brassica campestris*)
(——) (yuleunlu) (*Nassauvia chilensis*)
zapallo (penka) (*Cucurbita pepo*)

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APPENDIX C. MAMMALS, BIRDS, FISHES, AND SHELLFISHES USED BY THE ARAUCANIANS

The names of mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes are here recorded in Spanish, followed by the Araucanian names, when known, in parentheses. Scientific names are from Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano, 2 vols., 1916; John M. Cooper's "The Araucanians," in Handbook of South American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, p. 705, 1946; Hans Schmidt's Argentiniache Vogelwelt (no date); Perito Francisco Moreno's Viaje a la Patagonia austral . . . 1876-1877, Anales del Museo de la Patagonia, vol. 1, pp. 91, 121-138, 1945; and labeled specimens found in the Museo Nahuel Huapi in Bariloche, Argentina. Dashes (— —) indicate that the name could not be obtained.

Mammals

armadillo (kofür) (*Chaetophractus villosus*)
guanaco (l'uan) (*Lama guanicoe*)
huemul or guemal (shamam) (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*)
jabalí (kütrekütre) (— —) wild boar
llama (chilihueque or rehueque) (*Lama glama*)
(— —) (mara) (*Dolichotis patagonica*) Patagonian hare
pudú (truli or püdu or pofo) (*Pudu pudu* or *Cervus humilis*)
puma (paŋi or trapial) (*Felis concolor*)

Birds

avutarda (— —) (*Chloëphaga leucoptera*)
bandurria (raki) (*Theristicus caudatus melanopis* or *Ibis melanopis*
or *Theristicus melanopis*)
cernícalo (ŋishem or ñishem) (— —)
(— —) (chanchito) (— —)
(— —) (choñchoñ) (— —) nocturnal bird
choroy (yawilma) (*Psittacus leptorhynchus*)
chucau (chukau) (*Rhea pennata ?*)
cisne blanco or ganso (— —) (*Coscoroba coscoroba*)
diuca (diuka) (*Diuca diuca diuca*)
emu (ñandú) (*Rhea rothschildi*)
flamingo (pital) (*Phoenicopterus ruber chilensis*)
gallareta (pollolla or pideñ) (*Pardirallus rytirhynchus*)

jilguero (ʃiwü or chirif) (*Spinus uropygialis*). Has yellow plumage
loica (loika) (*Trupial militaris*) robin
martineta (ʃadu) (*Rhynchotus rufescens*) partridge
perdiz grande (cf. martineta)
picaflor (——) (——) hummingbird
rhea (choike) (*Rhea americana albescens*)
(——) (tinamou) (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*)
tordo (koreu) (*Molothrus bonariensis*)
tregle (treqell or kiltreu) (*Vanellus chilensis*) Chilean lapwing
zorzal austral (wilki) (*Turdus falklandii magellanicus*)

Fishes

cauque (malche) (*Atherina* sp.)
corbina (kolükolen) (——). Has tail of coffee color
pejerry (remü or kauke) (*Patagonina hatcheri* or *Atherinichthys argentinensis*)
peladilla (peliolo or pelcilla) (*Haplochiton taeniatus*)
perca (lipaŋ) (*Percichthys trucha*)
puyen (upesh) (*Galaxias maculatus*)
robalo (kadwa) (*Pinguipes chilensis*) haddock
salmon (——) (*Salmo salar sebago*)
sierras (——) (——) sawfish
trucha arco iris (——) (*Salmo gairdneri*)
trucha criolla (cf. perca)
trucha de arroyo (——) (*Salvelinus fontinalis*)
trucha marron or trucha europea (——) (*Salmo fario*)
(——) (——) (*Paralichthys* sp.) flatfish
(——) (——) (*Mugil* sp.) mullets
(——) (——) (*Sparus* sp.) porgies
(——) (——) (*Austromenidia regia*) silverfish

Shellfishes

ariese (——) (——)
jaiba (ranlen) (——)
loco (loko) (*Concholepas peruviana*)
macha (macha) (*Mesodesma donacia*)
(——) (manilwe) (——)
(——) (piure) (*Piures*) ascidians or sea squirts
(——) (——) (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., unionidae) bivalves
(——) (——) (*Aegla* sp. and *Parastacus* sp.) crustaceans
(——) (——) (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.) sea urchins

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